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ABSTRACT

This report describes the methodology and results of a study of racist attitudes and behaviors. The introduction provides the background and states difficulties due to funding and time constraints. Research and data collection procedures are delineated in the second section. In section 3, results are presented in tabular form, and intercoder reliability is discussed. Findings are interpreted in section 4, including differences between the two coders, discrepancies between quantitative and qualitative findings, and qualitative analysis performed by a multidisciplinary team of consultants. Limitations of the study and recommendations are given in section 5. Limitations include the complexity of measuring and defining racist behaviors quantitatively, the complexity of developing accurate quantitative and qualitative assessment methods, inadequate funds and staffing, and voluntary subject selection. Recommendations suggest holistic research approaches that integrate long term and diverse quantitative and qualitative research methods, and the refinement of the legitimation model. Appendixes provide supportive documentation about the workshop and the research project, as well as copies of the attitude survey, a survey on historical facts, evaluation form, and coding procedures. Also appended are narrative reports written by the four consultants analyzing the group discussions. (FG)

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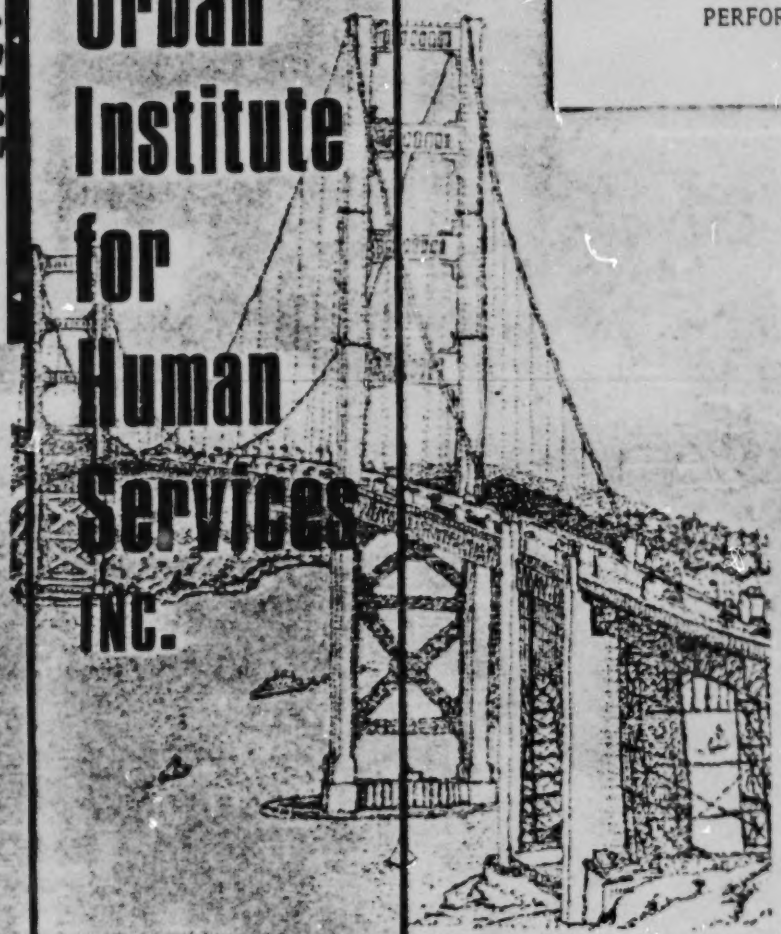

BEHAVIORAL CRITERIA

IN RESEARCH AND

THE STUDY OF RACISM:

PERFORMING THE JACKAL FUNCTION

(FINAL REPORT)

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For those of us who have been with the project throughout its two-and-a-half-year lifespan (Asa Hilliard, Yolanda Jenkins, Doris Bowman), we realize that in our attempt to perform the "jackal function", we came to understand through our interactions the importance of human concern, compassion, and consideration.

INTRODUCTION

This study began as an attempt to isolate behavioral indicators which could be used as markers for studying change in human behavior. To be more specific, the impetus for such a study came from the Office of Naval Research which has funded several similar projects. Ultimately, the basic research in this area should lead to a more effective, applied approach to the development of evaluations of human relations training. Therefore, it was decided to delimit the focus of this study to a search for a subset of "human relations" behavioral indicators. That subset is the area which we have designated as racist behavior.

In the first technical report, a review of the literature pertaining to behavioral criteria, instrumentation for the measurement of behavioral criteria, racist behavior, and theories of racism, a theoretical model of general behavior and a theoretical model of racist behavior were presented. The essential features of both models were: behavior must be understood by reference to its historical antecedents. behavior must be understood by reference to its contextual influences, behavior must be understood by reference to its inertia or future "pull," and behavior must be understood by reference to multiple tools and perspectives. Ideally, a longitudinal look at natural behaviors from multiple perspectives, from an appropriate theoretical frame, was thought to provide the most useful view of behavior.

Existing standardized paper and pencil instruments were seen as being severely limited for revealing the kind of information which would be valid and useful. The primary difficulty with such instruments is their general insensitivity to real cultural variation in the meaning of the language through which interrogation takes place. Therefore, aggregation of "scores" becomes much less empirical than may appear at first glance. The aggregation of deep structural content would, in our opinion, be appropriate. However, all standardized paper and pencil instruments which we reviewed appeared to us to deal with surface structural linguistic material. Moreover, the technical data on paper and pencil tests of such things as attitude tended to fall far short of acceptable psychometric standards, especially when looking for evidence of cross-cultural validation studies.

A pilot study was conducted in order to develop or adapt instruments and procedures for more direct behavioral observations. The report of that study appears in Technical Report No. Two, along with the design of the next study.

Even before the first technical report had been presented, we were advised that funding might be sharply reduced or eliminated. Originally the study was envisioned as a three-to-four-year effort with significant increases in the level of funding beyond the pilot level. In

fact, both the length of the study and the level of funding were reduced. These reductions created major difficulties and forced us to make major compromises in the design and execution of the study. Some of the compromises were as follows:

1. From Broad and Deep to Broad or Deep:
   A choice had to be made regarding the scope of our investigation. We had to decide whether to look at fewer things in depth or to look at more things less in depth. We were forced to do the latter since an essential feature of our proposal was simultaneous observation of common data from multiple perspectives. Therefore, we decided on compromises in the study design which would allow us to get as close to this objective as possible.

2. From Many to Few Independent Observers:
   We had hoped to have equal numbers of independent observers from several key disciplines, clinical psychology, anthropology, socio-linguists, psychiatry, and from disabled people (blind or deaf).

3. From Many to Few Well-Trained Coders:
   We had hoped to have six (three White and three Black) coders for the videotape transcripts. These coders would all be trained to high rates of reliability.

4. From Many to Few Subjects:
   We had hoped to have two groups each of White, Black and White, and Black subjects.

5. From Two Observation Times to One:
   We had hoped to assemble the same subjects for observations on two separate occasions.

6. From True Simultaneous Observation to Serial Observation of Common Videotaped Material:
   We had hoped to have all observers have access (through one-way viewing window) simultaneously to the trials. Instead, viewing of tapes only had to be scheduled at the convenience of independent observers.

In making these and other compromises, we were gambling that there still would be material which would be sufficiently distinct to demonstrate the potential power of multi-disciplinary systematic behavioral observation over more traditional forms of data gathering. In spite of all the forced compromises, we believe that our approach is a fruitful way to proceed in the development of behavioral criteria.

PROCEDURES

Selection of Subjects

Community representatives and university personnel were contacted for subject referrals. From the referrals, a list of prospective participants was compiled. Taking attrition into account, approximately ninety letters were sent to individuals, requesting their participation in the study to obtain a sample size of forty-five subjects. For each affirmative response to the letter, a follow-up phone call was made to confirm date, time, location, and participation. Fifteen participants were confirmed for each workshop. However, on the day of each respective workshop, there were a number of "no-shows", resulting in an unequal number of participants. For Workshop I, the All-Black Group, there was a total number of 13; for Workshop 2, the All-White Group, there was a total number of 9; and for Workshop 3, the Racially Mixed Group, the total number was 10. Of the 32 participants, 23 were female and 9 were male; 21 were Black and 11 were White.

Data Collection

Three all-day, inter-ethnic relations workshops were conducted by the Urban Institute staff over a seven-week period during the summer of 1979 at the Urban Institute for Human Services, Inc. The workshop format described below was the same for all three groups.

The workshop began at 9:00 AM, and each participant upon arrival received a packet of materials which included the agenda (Appendix A), and the data collection instruments. At the beginning of the session, the participants completed the Background Information Sheet (Appendix B) to obtain the demographic characteristics of the three groups. Greetings and introductory remarks were made by the project director. After the introduction, the racial attitude scale, "Identification with the Underdog" (Appendix C), was administered, followed by the pre-test of the Historical Facts Quiz (Appendix D). The Historical Facts Quiz consisted of eleven slides on African, Afro-European and Afro-American history. Each slide was displayed on the screen for three minutes, during which the participants wrote their responses to two open-ended questions: (1) "What information can you give about this picture?"; (2) "Is this information important? Explain." A thirty-second warning was given prior to the display of the next slide. None of the slides used for the Historical Facts Quiz (HFQ) was included in the "Return to the Source" slide presentation, so that post-test responses would not be a reiteration of information received during the slide presentation.

After completion of the HFQ, the morning group discussion began. The first half (30 minutes) of the film, "Where is Prejudice?" was used as the stimulus for the group discussion. The film, "Where is Prejudice", was made in 1968 and is an intensive study of twelve liberal, middle class students' racial, ethnic and religious prejudices. This film provided an excellent vehicle for examining racism from a contemporary historical perspective. It also encouraged participants to explore their own prejudice in a non-threatening atmosphere by identifying with or discussing characters in the film. The one-hour discussion was facilitated by the project's research associate and was videotaped by two video technicians.

The afternoon session began with a one hour version of the slide presentation, "Return to the Source." The narrative was tape recorded to insure standardization of the workshop format and content across the three groups. Immediately following the slide presentation was the post-test of the Historical Facts Quiz, administered exactly as the pre-test. One one-hour-and-fifteen-minute discussion followed the historical facts quiz to elicit reactions, questions and responses to the slide presentation, and to observe changes in both verbal and non-verbal behaviors. This group discussion was also videotaped. A written evaluation (Appendix E) by participants of the workshop concluded the session at 4:30 PM.

Coding of the Data

To provide an objective analysis of the data, two coders (one Black male and one White female) were hired to code the open-ended responses on the pre- and post-historical facts quizzes and the typed transcripts of the group discussions according to the study's legitimation model. Coding procedures (Appendix F) were developed to provide a systematic method for training coders and for coding and quantifying participant responses. The original legitimation categories defined from the pilot study data were expanded to include an awareness dimension which consisted of two behavioral categories: self-disclosure, and external realization.

The coders were trained in a one-day intensive training session conducted by the project's research associate at the Urban Institute offices. The morning session began with an overview of the Urban Institute and the Inter-Ethnic Relations Study. However, the primary focus of the morning session was the presentation and explanation of the individual legitimation coding categories.

The afternoon session was devoted to practice coding. The entire one-hour version of "Where is Prejudice?" was the vehicle used to train coders on the legitimation coding scheme because the format and

objectives of the film were similar to those of our study. The practice coding proceeded as follows: (1) a small segment of the film was presented; (2) the coders coded the behaviors; and (3) the coding was discussed until agreement was reached. At the end of the training session, the coders were given copies of the historical facts quizzes and transcripts of the group discussions. The coders coded the data independently over a ten-day period.

When the coders returned the coded data, a debriefing meeting was held to discuss any reactions and suggestions regarding the legitimation coding scheme.

The other methodology used to analyze the data was a qualitative analysis from a multi-disciplinary perspective. Four consultants were hired--two anthropologists, one psychiatrist, and one clinical psychologist. Again the consultant team was racially mixed--two Black and two White.

Each consultant was sent a letter containing information about the project and a brief description of the conceptual model. Information given to the consultants was purposely limited so that they would analyze and interpret the data presented according to their respective disciplines rather than according to the theoretical framework of the study. Each consultant viewed the videotapes of the group discussions among the groups. The reports by the consultants are presented in Appendices G through J.

RESULTS

Intercoder Reliability

Intercoder reliability was determined by generating reliability coefficients for legitimation categories on the pre- and post-tests of the historical facts quiz and the morning and afternoon group discussions.

Table 1 presents the reliability coefficients for these categories with sufficient data for analysis on the pre- and post-tests of the historical facts quiz.

From the analysis in Table 1, the category with the highest reliability, both pre and post, was the "no knowledge" category (.922 and .976); while the category with the lowest reliability was the "self-disclosure" category (.517 and .456).

The results in Table 2 indicate that the coders were in the greatest agreement on the coding of the all-White group's discussions. However, intercoder reliability was low for the morning discussion of the all-Black group, and very low for both discussions of the racially mixed group.

Data Analysis

The sample sizes, means and standard deviations of the pre-test and post-test Historical Fact Quiz scale scores and the Racial Attitude scale scores for the three experimental groups are presented in Table 3. These descriptive data are provided to aid in the interpretation of subsequent statistical analyses presented in this section.

Table 1

Intercoder Reliability Coefficients for the Pre-tests and Post-tests of the Historical Facts Quiz

Categories	Code	Pretest	Posttest
Knowledge	K	.857	.908
No knowledge	NK	.922	.976
Self-Disclosure	SD	.517	.456
Toward Own Racial Group	TW	.783	.708
Toward Other Racial Group	TT	.823	.916

Table 2

Reliability Coefficients for the Morning and Afternonn Group Discussions

Group	No.	Morning Discussion	Afternoon Discussion
Black	1	.58	.846
White	2	.937	.823
Mixed	3	.276	.219

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations of Test Score Data for the Pre-test and Post-test Historical Facts Test and the Racial Attitude Scale

Group		Pre-test					Post-test				
		K	NK	SD	TW	TT	K	NK	SD	TW	TT
1	N	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
	Mean	15.00	2.08	4.17	7.50	1.00	11.42	8.42	2.08	3.92	1.17
	S.D.	5.34	3.45	2.48	2.28	0.74	4.68	5.25	1.56	3.20	0.94
2	N	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
	Mean	15.22	2.89	4.44	0.33	4.67	16.00	3.33	2.00	0.67	6.78
	S.D.	5.09	3.41	2.79	0.50	3.24	5.15	3.35	2.12	0.71	3.82
3	N	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
	Mean	14.11	4.11	1.89	5.89	2.11	9.33	9.89	2.67	3.22	2.22
	S.D.	3.69	3.92	1.76	4.14	1.45	4.90	4.59	2.78	2.28	2.82

Table 4

Analysis of Variance Results for Racial Attitude Scores for the Three Groups

Source	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between Groups	146.3	2	73.2	2.94
Within Groups	670.7	27	24.8	n.s.
Total	817.0	29		

Hypothesis 1. There will be differences among the three groups in terms of racial attitude as measured by scores on the racial scale.

An analysis of variance of the Racial Attitude Scale scores among the three groups was performed and the results of this statistical test are presented in Table 4. The results indicate no statistically significant differences among the means scores of the three groups.

Hypothesis 2. There will be differences among the three groups in terms of historical racial information as measured by written responses on the Historical Facts Quiz.

This hypothesis was examined through analysis of variance of the five Historical Facts Quiz scales which yielded sufficient data for analysis. Pre-test comparisons among the three groups are presented in Tables 5 through 9. Post-test comparisons among the three groups are presented in Tables 10 through 14. As indicated in these tables, statistical significance was attained for pre-test "Toward One's Own Race," and "Toward Other Racial Groups" scales; and for Post-test Knowledge, No-Knowledge, "Towards One's Own Racial Group," and "Toward Other Racial Group" scales.

Hypothesis 3. There will be differences among the three groups in terms of legitimation behavior as measured by the frequency of the types of responses in the large group discussions.

The differences among the frequencies of responses in the various legitimation coding categories were examined using a test of proportions across the three groups on both the pre-test (morning) and post-test (afternoon) discussions. None of the statistical analyses yielded significant differences among the three groups for any of the categories at either time point.

Hypothesis 4-a. Within each of the groups, there will be differences in the frequencies within the legitimation categories on the pre-test and post-test of the Historical Facts Quiz.

To test this hypothesis, the differences in mean scores from pre-test to post-test on the various Historical Facts Quiz categories was analyzed using a t-test for non-independent means. The results of these analyses are presented in Tables 15 through 29. These analyses indicate: for Group 1, there was a statistically significant increase from pre-test to post-test for the No-Knowledge scale, and a significant decrease in the Self-Disclosure scale: for Group 2, there were no significant differences from pre-test to post-test for any of the Historical Facts Quiz scales; for Group 3, there was a statistically significant decrease on the Knowledge scale and a significant increase on the No-Knowledge scale.

Table 5

Analysis of Variance Results of the Pre-test Historical Facts Knowledge Scores for the Three Groups

Source	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between Groups	6.4	2	3.2	0.14
Within Groups	630.4	27	23.3	n.s.
Total	636.8	29		

Table 6

Analysis of Variance Results of the Pre-test Historical Facts No-Knowledge Scores for the Three Groups

Source	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Squares	F-Ratio
Between Groups	21.2	2	10.6	0.82
Within Groups	346.7	27	12.8	n.s.
Total	367.9	29		

Table 7

Analysis of Variance Results of the Pre-test Historical Facts Self-Disclosure Scores for the Three Groups

Source	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Squares	F-Ratio
Between Groups	36.59	2	18.29	3.19
Within Groups	154.78	27	5.73	n.s.
Total	191.37	29		

Table 8

Analysis of Variance Results of the Pre-test Historical Facts "Toward One's Own Racial Group" Scores for the Three Groups

Source	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between Groups	304.78	2	152.39	49.05
Within Groups	83.89	27	3.11	p<.01
Total	388.67	29		

Table 9

Analysis of Variance Results of the Pre-test Historical Facts "Toward Other Racial Groups" Scores for the Three Groups

Source	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between Groups	70.48	2	35.24	8.90
Within Groups	106.89	27	3.96	p<.01
Total	117.37	29		

Table 10

Analysis of Variance Results of the Post-test Historical Facts Knowledge Scores for the Three Groups

Source	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between Groups	211.3	2	105.6	4.42
Within Groups	644.9	27	23.9	p<.05
Total	856.2	29		

Table 11

Analysis of Variance Results of the Post-test Historical Facts No-Knowledge Scores for the Three Groups

Source	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between Groups	216.9	2	108.4	5.21
Within Groups	561.8	27	20.8	$p<.05$
Total	778.7	29		

Table 12

Analysis of Variance Results of the Post-test Historical Facts Self-Disclosure Scores for the Three Groups

Source	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between Groups	2.45	2	1.23	0.26
Within Groups	124.92	27	4.63	n.s.
Total	127.37	29		

Table 13

Analysis of Variance Results of the Post-test Historical Facts "Toward One's Own Racial Group" Scores for the Three Groups

Source	Sum of Square	D.F.	Mean Squares	F-Ratio
Between Groups	57.39	2	28.70	4.89
Within Groups	158.47	27	5.87	p<.05
Total	215.87	29		

Table 14

Analysis of Variance Results of the Post-test Historical Facts "Toward Other Racial Groups" Scores for the Three Groups

Source	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Squares	F-Ratio
Between Groups	173.39	2	86.69	12.14
Within Groups	192.78	27	7.14	p<.01
Total				

Table 15

Results of the Comparison Between Pre-test and Post-test Knowledge Scale Scores on the Historical Facts Quiz for Group 1

	Pre-test	Post-test	t-ratio
N	12	12	
Mean	15.00	11.42	1.75
S.D.	5.34	4.68	n.s.

Table 16

Results of the Comparison Between Pre-test and Post-test No-Knowledge Scale Scores on the Historical Facts Quiz for Group 1

	Pre-test	Post-test	t-ratio
N	12	12	
Mean	2.08	8.42	3.49
S.D.	3.45	5.25	$p<.01$

Table 17

Results of the Comparison Between Pre-test and Post-test Self-Disclosure Scores on the Historical Facts Quiz for Group 1

	Pre-test	Post-test	t-ratio
N	12	12	
Mean	4.17	2.08	2.46
S.D.	2.48	1.56	$p<.05$

Table 18

Results of the Comparison Between Pre-test and Post-test "Toward One's Own Racial Group" Scores on the Historical Facts Quiz for Group 1

	Pre-test	Post-test	t-ratio
N	12	12	
Mean	7.50	3.92	3.16
S.D.	2.28	3.20	$p<.01$

Table 19

Results of the Comparison Between Pre-test and Post-test "Toward Other Racial Groups" Scores on the Historical Facts Quiz for Group 1

	Pre-test	Post-test	t-ratio
N	12	12	0.48
Mean	1.00	1.17	n.s.
S.D.	0.74	0.94	

Table 20

Results of the Comparison Between Pre-test and Post-test Knowledge Scale Scores on the Historical Facts Quiz for Group 2

	Pre-test	Post-test	t-ratio
N	9	9	0.32
Mean	15.22	16.00	n.s.
S.D.	5.09	5.15	

Table 21

Results of the Comparison Between Pre-test and Post-test No-Knowledge Scale Scores on the Historical Facts Quiz for Group 2

	Pre-test	Post-test	t-ratio
N	9	9	
Mean	2.89	3.33	0.28
S.D.	3.41	3.35	n.s.

Table 22

Results of the Comparison Between Pre-test and Post-test Self-Disclosure Scores on the Historical Facts Quiz for Group 2

	Pre-test	Post-test	t-ratio
N	9	9	
Mean	4.44	2.00	2.09
S.D.	2.79	2.12	n.s.

Table 23

Results of the Comparison Between Pre-test and Post-test "Toward One's Own Racial Group" Scores on the Historical Facts Quiz for Group 2

	Pre-test	Post-test	t-ratio
N	9	9	
Mean	0.33	0.66	1.16
S.D.	0.50	0.77	n.s.

Table 24

Results of the Comparison Between Pre-test and Post-test "Towards Another Racial Group" Scores on the Historical Facts Quiz for Group 2

	Pre-test	Post-test	t-ratio
N	9	9	
Mean	4.67	6.78	1.26
S.D.	3.24	3.87	n.s.

Table 25

Results of the Comparison Between Pre-test and Post-test Knowledge Scores on the Historical Facts Quiz for Group 3

	Pre-test	Post-test	t-ratio
N	9	9	
Mean	14.11	9.33	2.34
S.D.	3.69	4.90	$p<.05$

Table 26

Results of the Comparison Between Pre-test and Post-test No-Knowledge Scale Scores on the Historical Facts Quiz for Group 3

	Pre-test	Post-test	t-ratio
N	9	9	
Mean	4.11	9.89	2.87
S.D.	3.92	4.59	$p<.05$

Table 27

Results of the Comparison Between Pre-test and Post-test Self-Disclosure Scores on the Historical Facts Quiz for Group 3

	Pre-test	Post-test	t-ratio
N	9	9	0.71
Mean	1.89	2.67	n.s.
S.D.	1.76	2.78	

Table 28

Results of the Comparison Between Pre-test and Post-test "Towards One's Own Racial Group" Scores on the Historical Facts Quiz for Group 3

	Pre-test	Post-test	t-ratio
N	9	9	
Mean	5.89	3.22	1.69
S.D.	4.14	2.28	n.s.

Table 29

Results of the Comparison Between Pre-test and Post-test "Toward Other Racial Groups" Scores on the Historical Facts Quiz for Group 3

	Pre-test	Post-test	t-ratio
N	9	9	
Mean	2.11	2.22	0.10
S.D.	1.45	2.82	n.s.

Hypothesis 4-b. There will be differences among the three groups in the amount of change in the frequencies within the legitimation categories on the pre-test and post-test of the Historical Facts Quiz.

Differences among the three groups in the amount of change in frequencies were not amenable to statistical examination due to the small frequencies in some of the categories of the legitimation categories of the Historical Facts Quiz. However, the comparison of the difference in the levels of mean scores from pre-test to post-test for the three groups is presented in the data analysis reported for Hypothesis 4-a.

Hypothesis 5-a. Within each group, there will be differences in the frequencies within the legitimation categories from the morning to afternoon large group discussions.

Hypothesis 5-b. There will be differences among the three groups in the amount of change in the frequencies within the legitimation categories from morning to afternoon large group discussions.

As reported for Hypothesis 3, there were no statistically significant differences within or among the groups from the pre-test (morning) discussion to the post-test (afternoon) discussion for any of the various legitimation categories.

Hypothesis 6. There will be a relationship between racial attitude scores and the frequency of racist (delegitimizing) expressions on the pre-test and post-test of the Historical Facts Quiz.

The various pre-test and post-test Historical Facts Quiz legitimation scores' relationship to the Racial Attitude Scale scores for the three combined groups was determined by Pearson product-moment correlation. These coefficients are presented in Table 30. The only correlation coefficient reaching statistical significance was between Attitude Scale scores and post-test "Toward One's Own Racial Group" scale scores.

Hypothesis 7. There will be a relationship between racial attitude scores and change in the frequency of racist (delegitimizing) expressions from the morning to afternoon large discussions.

This hypothesis was not supported because there was no significant differences from pre-test (morning) to post-test (afternoon) discussions on any of the legitimation scale scores.

Table 30

Relationship Between the Racial Attitude Scale Scores and Various Historical Facts Quiz Legitimation Scale Scores for Pre-test and Post-test

(Pearson Produce-Moment Correlations. N = 30)

Correlation Between Racial Attitude Scale Scores	Pre-test r	Post-test r
Knowledge	-.01	-.18
No-Knowledge	.00	.19
Self-Disclosure	-.03	.31
Toward One's Own cial Group	.25	.39*
Toward Other Rac Groups	-.30	-.32

*p<.05

INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

I. Intercoder Reliability

A. Coding

The coders utilized a limited number of categories in the coding of the data. The majority of the codes were clustered in the neutral range of categories on the legitimation behavioral continuum. There are several possible explanations for the restricted use of categories. First of all, the Historical Facts Quiz elicits primarily factual, neutral information. Thus, the probability of strong statements of legitimation or delegitimation is very unlikely. Secondly, the coders coded the individual discrete responses of the participants in the group discussions from typed transcripts. The emotional import of the speaker's statements is less when a discussion is transcribed into a written dialogue, and the meaning of a statement is diminished when it is coded independently of the group context. Moreover, racism and racist behavior are more sophisticated and subtle. Overt racism is seldom expressed, particularly in the "liberal" environment of the Bay Area. Rather it is implied or inferred in more subtle behavioral forms. Given the coding procedures and guidelines, the coders were apparently reluctant to code responses in the positive or negative categories unless it was a very clear, direct statement of legitimation or delegitmation.

B. Differences Between Coders

The two coders consistently differed in their interpretation of the subjectiveness of the responses and in the coding of the racial content of the responses. On both the Historical Facts Quiz and the group discussions, the coders disagreed on the coding of a response as either a "knowledge" statement or a "self-disclosure" statement. The Black male coder would interpret and code a response as a personal, subjective statement that revealed experiences, values, attitudes or opinions of the participant, whereas the White female coder would code the same response as a factual, objective, impersonal statement. The White female coder also had a higher frequency of "racial content" codes than the Black male coder. The budget and time constraints of the project do not make it possible to investigate the reasons for the discrepancies in coding; i.e., whether they are due to factors such as insufficient training, unclear coding procedures, ethnic/sex differences, etc.

Interpretation of the Findings of the Quantitative Analysis

A. Outcomes on the Racial Attitude Scale

Although no significant differences were found among the three groups on the racial attitude scale, "Identification with the Underdog," the all-White group tended to have the lowest scores; i.e., the most sympathetic responses or the greatest identification with the underdog. One interpretation may be that this scale reflects the change in consciousness of the two racial groups over the past decade. The scale is a product of the civil rights, integrationist era where Blacks were demanding access into the mainstream, and Whites were being made aware of blatant racial inequities. Perhaps then the low scores of Whites indicate a greater acceptance of racial/ethnic heterogenity, while the high scores of Blacks signify a trend or attitude toward racial homogenity. This interpretation tends to be borne out in the qualitative analysis of the data wherein the focus of the discussion by Blacks was on intragroup issues, such as Black solidarity, while the focus of Whites was on intergroup issues--e.g., personal experiences with Blacks.

B. Differences Among and Within the Groups on the Historical Facts Quiz

The significant findings on the pre- and post-test of the Historical Facts Quiz for the categories, "Toward One's Own Racial Group," and "Toward Other Racial Groups" is an artifact of the group's racial composition. Since the quiz was on African, Afro-European, and Afro-American history, the Black participants' responses were about their own racial group, whereas the White participants' responses were about Blacks--i.e., "another racial group."

There was no significant difference in the legitimation categories among the three groups on the pre-test, but there was a significant finding on the post-test for the "knowledge" and "no-knowledge" categories. The all-White group had a higher frequency of "knowledge" responses than the other two groups. Conversely, the all-Black and racially mixed groups had a higher "no-knowledge" response rate. Within groups, the all-Black and racially mixed group had a significant increase in "no-knowledge" responses than the other two groups. Conversely, the all-Black and racially mixed group had a significant increase in "no-knowledge" responses, and a significant decrease in "knowledge" responses from pre- to post-test, whereas there was no change in the response pattern of the all-White group.

Again, the consultants' observations provide a plausible explanation for the results on the Historical Facts Quiz. According to the observations, there appear to be racial differences in preferred modes of communication. Blacks were more involved in the verbal discussions, whereas Whites seemed more responsive to written stimuli. The fact that there was no significant difference among the three groups on the pre-test lends credibility to the impact of the group discussion. The pre-test was administered before there was any group interaction. The post-test was given after the group had an opportunity for social interaction and verbal exchange. The consensus of the consultants was that the all-Black group was the most cohesive, and Blacks in the racially mixed group dominated the afternoon discussion. Thus, the Black participants may have found the group discussion the vehicle for expressing their reaction to the slide presentation rather than the post-test of the Historical Facts Quiz.

C. Differences Among and Within the Groups on the Group Discussion

The fact that there were no significant differences in either the type or frequencies of the responses within and among the three groups for the morning and afternoon group discussions suggests certain possibilities:

(1) The groups did not differ in their verbal behavior in either the morning or afternoon sessions, or

(2) The coding instrument was not sensitive to the variations in the group discussions.

The latter interpretation seems to be more the case. As stated earlier in this Chapter under Intercoder Reliability, the coders only used a limited number of neutral categories in their coding, and intercoder reliability was low for both the all-Black and racially mixed group discussions. Furthermore, the consultant observations of the videotaped group discussions noted considerable differences among and variations within the groups. Therefore, it seems highly probable that the nonsignificant findings regarding the group discussions are a result of insensitive and/or inappropriate instrumentation.

III. Interpretation of the Findings of the Qualitative Analysis

A. The Consultants' Reports

For the qualitative analysis, four consultants wrote their observations of the videotaped group discussions which were submitted to the Urban Institute Office. The reports reflected

the consultants' respective discipline of either anthropology or mental health. The two anthropologists wrote their reports as detailed ethnographies; the clinicians' reports were more like diagnostic, psychological profiles. Their perceptual focus also served to be structured by their professional training in that the anthropologists emphasized group integration and interaction and discussed individual behavior within the context of the group. They cited specific behaviors or interactions as the basis for their interpretations. The clinicians, on the other hand, concentrated on the "pathological" aspects of individual and group behaviors. For example, the terms "anxiety," "stress," "conflict or avoidance of conflict," "defensiveness," "threat," "need for self-protection," were some of the behavioral descriptions used.

Racial identity also affected interpretation of the data. The Black consultants were much more sensitive to the different communication styles of Blacks and Whites, and to racist or prejudiced behavior on the part of Whites. One of the White consultants was very aware of racist or prejudiced behavior on the part of Blacks and other minorities.

For comparison purposes, categories were derived from the consultants' written observations. In order for a category to be constructed, two or more of the consultants had to have written about that particular phenomenon or dynamic that the category described. A description of the findings for each category and a summary chart of the consultants' observations are presented. Within the narrative on each category, the similarities and differences among the consultants are noted.

B. Interpretation of the Consultants' Observations

Group Cohesiveness. All the consultants agreed on the collective orientation and high group cohesiveness of the all-Black group. The group participants spoke in terms of "we" and "us." However, the White psychiatrist interpreted the need for consensus as a means of self-protection for the group to counter a threatened position.

The two anthropologists who commented on the cohesiveness of the all-White group both noted the individualistic "I" orientation of the participants.

In regard to the inter-racial group, there was clearly a difference of opinion among the consultants as to the group's cohesiveness. One saw greater differences among the Black participants in this group than in the all-Black group; another observed the same pattern of the collective "we" of Blacks, and the individual "I" of Whites that existed in the other groups;

and another perceived a movement of the group from individual differences to group cohesion and consensus.

Energy Level. There was fairly close agreement among the consultants regarding the energy level of the respective groups: The all-Black group was seen as highly involved and intense; the all-White group was more controlled and uninvolved; and the energy level of the inter-racial group shifted; i.e., it increased for Blacks and decreased for Whites from the morning to the afternoon session.

Dominance. In terms of dominance, the two White male consultants noted the dominance of the Black men in the all-Black group, and the Black male consultant felt that White men dominated the all-White group, and a White male participant dominated the inter-racial group in the morning session, but Blacks dominated in the afternoon session.

Themes. From the observations, there appears to be distinct racial differences in the content of the group discussions. Black participants in both the all-Black and inter-racial groups focused on intragroup issues, such as Black identity and solidarity, and concrete suggestions for collective action. White participants concentrated their discussion on personal experiences via à vis Blacks and tended toward global, euphemistic solutions for improved race relations.

Communication Styles. Interestingly, the Black consultants paid the most attention to the communication styles of the different groups which included both verbal and nonverbal behaviors. The language of the Black participants was perceived as global, contextual and people-oriented, whereas Whites were seen as using more controlled, volitional linear speech. Also the Black participants often engaged in a characteristic cultural communication pattern of "call and response," i.e., members of the group would affirm statements made by a participant with either verbal or nonverbal responses. The body language of the Black participants indicated a relaxed, involved, alert attitude. Conversely, the body language of the White participants expressed boredom, detachment and social distance. The White consultant who noted non-verbal behavior focused on individual Black participants who appeared either somber, skeptical or conspicuously bored.

Racial Themes. The consultants, although they did not label them as racist behaviors directly, identified behaviors that were facist in content or inference for both Blacks and Whites: Blacks in terms of negative remarks about Whites and Jews; Whites in terms of victim-blaming and direct admission of prejudice. Not surprisingly, the Black consultants were keenly aware of

prejudice and racist behaviors on the part of Whites, and one of the White consultants observed racist behaviors on the part of Blacks and other minorities.

Social Interaction. All consultants agreed that there was a high degree of interpersonal interaction in the all-Black group, but the explanation for this interaction differed: One thought the high degree of interaction was an indication of a strong sense of community, whereas another perceived it as an extreme need for self-protection. The interaction in the all-White group was seen as more guarded and less positive. However, one consultant felt the interactions decreased in the afternoon, whereas the other perceived it as increasing for the afternoon session. Three of the four consultants noted that in the inter-racial group, Whites and Blacks interacted in the morning but only Blacks participated in the afternoon. The fourth consultant thought the inter-racial group had a high degree of interaction throughout.

Behavioral Change (After Slide Presentation). The consensus of the consultants regarding behavioral change for the all-Black group was that the slide presentation created a positive reaction that increased group cohesiveness and solidarity, and positive action for the dissemination of the information contained in the slides. Three of the four consultants noted the reluctance on the part of the White group to accept the information evidenced by the challenges and questioning of the material's validity. For the inter-racial group, it was observed that, in general, the historical information was positively received, but Blacks had a much greater emotional response. Whites felt that the information challenged some basic beliefs, but regardless would probably have little or no effect on changing racist attitudes. Blacks felt that the information should be shared and would have a positive effect on changing attitudes. One consultant noted that the impact of the slide presentation on behavior was confounded by the presence and intervention of the facilitators.

SUMMARY CHART OF THE QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

(Consultant Observations)

Category		ALL BLACK GROUP		ALL WHITE GROUP		MIXED GROUP	
	Discipline	Consultant's Racial Identification		Consultant's Racial Identification		Consultant's Racial Identification	
		Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Group Cohesiveness	Anthro	immediate sense of rapport and community	use of "us" and "we"; a cohesive unit	no sense of community; separate entities	"I" comments; lack of group identity	greater differences among Blacks, less cohesion and sense of community	Whites use of "I" - Blacks use of "we"
	Mental Health	increased cohesiveness through communication	high group cohesiveness - use of collective "we"				movement from disagreement to cohesion
Energy Level	Anthro	dynamic - very involved	lively and busy	low energy and involvement	nervous and tense	decrease in energy level of Whites in PM	Blacks lively and emotional; Whites submissive, quiet, withdrawn
	Mental Health	from subdued "laid back" to intense interaction	high			increase in energy level of Blacks in PM	high
Dominance	Anthro		male	female	female	Blacks dominant in PM	White male dominant in AM; Blacks equally dominant
	Mental Health		male	male	female	White male	White male dominant in beginning;

SUMMARY CHART OF THE QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS (Continued)

Category		ALL BLACK GROUP		ALL WHITE GROUP		MIXED GROUP	
	Discipline	Consultant's Racial Identification		Consultant's Racial Identification		Consultant's Racial Identification	
		Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Themes	Anthro	issues concerning intra-group relationships; identification with Black community	focus on spiritual beliefs; group & economic issues for collective action	self-analysis; denial of differences; relating of personal experiences to establish individuality rather than community; comments about others antagonistic	dominance of personal experiences self-development defined by relations with Blacks; economic system cause of problem	Whites focused on unique individual experiences; Blacks communal perspective; Whites cited positive personal changes; Blacks cited negative societal dynamics	Spiritual references, concerns of the Black community; discussion of social vs. economic change; development of oneself.
	Mental Health	issues of Blackness; self-development - mental, physical and spiritual growth and development	issues - male vs. female; culture vs. ethnicity; control and power vs. powerlessness - homosexuality	issues of inequality; confirmation of White values	denial vs. admission of differences Black vs. White sexualism; class and economic factors		social vs. economic change; importance of education; and historical information
Communication Styles	Anthro	bodily position suggests relaxed, interested, involved alert attitude; verbal support of each other; "call & response" pattern		Sat farther apart from each other -> social disparateness; bored facial expressions		Black Communication pattern of "call & response" emerged in PH; Whites looked uninvolved in PH	
	Mental Health	global, high context features; people-oriented; coded form of expressiveness	somberness expressed	volitional; controlled, linear			looks of skepticism; conspicuous yawning on part of Black individuals

SUMMARY CHART OF THE QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS (Continued)

Category		ALL BLACK GROUP		ALL WHITE GROUP		MIXED GROUP	
	Discipline	Consultant's Racial Identification		Consultant's Racial Identification		Consultant's Racial Identification	
		Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Racial Themes	Anthro	individual prejudices a result of institutional racism; strong identification with the Black community	importance of race as primary; focus on Black group development	perceived racial prejudice as symptom of cultural unawareness; admission by some of racial prejudice; unreflective stereotyping	importance of race secondary; voiced sympathy and identify with Blacks	disagreement between Blacks & Whites re. change in race relations; statement that Whites have no culture	statement that Whites take other's culture; Blacks set trends
	Mental Health	high identification with Blacks	racist remarks re. Whites and Jews	victim-blaming statements; devaluation of Blacks & Black performance; high identification with Whites; negative reaction to Black assertiveness	fear and hate given as reasons for depriving Blacks of aspects of their culture		
Social Interaction	Anthro	"call & response" pattern characteristic of Black people; active participation by either speaking or responding in agreement	high interaction	no positive personal interaction; lack of consensus; less interaction in PM	more guarded and unemotional to increased interaction and emotion in PM	inter-racial interaction in AM; only Black participation in PM	inter-racial interaction in AM; Black participation in PM
	Mental Health	minimal openness to forming interpersonal relationships to increased interaction & group cohesiveness	move toward consensus because of threatened position and extreme need for self-protection; very vocal			guarded in AM; Blacks more open in PM	

SUMMARY CHART OF THE QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS (Continued)

Category		ALL BLACK GROUP		ALL WHITE GROUP		MIXED GROUP	
	Discipline	Consultant's Racial Identification		Consultant's Racial Identification		Consultant's Racial Identification	
		Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Behavioral Change (after slide presentation)	Anthro	greater awareness of the extent of Euro-American ethnocentrism; presentation provided positive mental and spiritual perspectives, contributing to a greater sense of Black selfhood and group unity; discussion in PM revolved around: 1) how to share information with more people; 2) need for Black control of their own institutions; 3) pragmatic issues of what Black people should and could do in relationship to the revelations of the slide show. positive acceptance of information.	sense of positive action; pride; increased group cohesion and consensus; specific suggestions re use of slide presentation and development of Black community	PM discussion began with humorous comment (reduced seriousness of information); questioned whether information was result of Black paranoia; questioned validity of information; euphemistic generalized solutions; perception of selves as "liberal" felt information would not be positively received	indictment of the mass media; some consensus that Whites destroyed Black family structure; challenge of information in slide presentation; discussion of reaction of others; nonspecific	Whites felt presentation would effect no change; Blacks positively accepted information and felt it should be shared and would have positive effect; some Blacks had visible emotional responses; upset because information suppressed; discussion of aesthetics and culture	challenged basic beliefs according to White male participant; emotional response by Blacks; discussion of media, fashion and importance of economic change; group dealt more intensively and at length with slide presentation
	Mental	increased cohesiveness; Black solidarity and Black self-development	pleasure and surprise over the presentation strong impace of slide presentation confounded by behavior of facilitators	expressed shock; disbelief, anger; distortion & reinterpretation of the material presented; speech changes, hesitancies, stuttering contradictions, slips of tongue; defensive condescension; opinionated; dogmatic; inflexible	more aware of information previously unknown; questions as to why material had been suppressed	more open; mutual acknowledgment and recognition	reduction of differences; more toward consensus; presentation praised; positive acceptance-slide presentation considered excellent educational vehicle

IV. Comparison of the Quantitative and Qualitative Analyses

The outcomes from both the quantitative and qualitative analysis support for the most part the basic premises and assumptions of the study.

A. The inadequacy of written stimuli for identifying racist behaviors was borne out by the quantitative analysis. The dichotomy between the findings of the quantitative and qualitative analyses seems to support the assumption that racist behaviors do not easily lend themselves to quantification. The use of a reliable and valid racial attitude scale and a coding instrument especially designed to code racist behaviors did not reveal racist behaviors. Consequently, most of the study's hypotheses were not confirmed.

Certainly, there are questions as to the appropriateness of these instruments, but there may be a broader question as to the appropriateness of "paper and pencil" measures to assess racist behaviors. Paper-and-pencil instruments may be better suited for measuring the cognitive aspects of behavior. Racism is not simply a cognitive function but is an irrational mental and emotional attitude deeply rooted in the American psyche. Moreover, racist behaviors have many guises from overt and blatant to subtle and elusive. In addition, racism has become more sophisticated in its expression, thus more difficult to measure.

1. However, the findings suggest that racist behavior must be assessed in milieu; i.e., in its specific context.

2. The assumption that "the form of racist behavior is situation-dependent and will vary according to significant situational factors, such as the racial composition of the group," was supported by the observations of the consultants. The behaviors of Blacks and Whites varied according to their group assignment; i.e., whether assigned to a nonracial or biracial group.

3. The legitimation/delegitimation model is a viable one for identifying racist behaviors. The coding scheme developed from this model did not pick up legitimation/delegitimation behaviors from written data. However, deligitimation behaviors of respect and delegitimation behaviors of denial, transformation and disrespect were observed in the qualitative analysis. This suggests that either the legitimation model needs to be operationalized differently for written data or is more appropriate and applicable to a visual medium.

4. Assessing racist behaviors requires a multi-disciplinary, multi-method, multi-racial approach. The use of individuals that represented different disciplines and racial backgrounds, and the use of two different modes of analysis provided a more sensitive, comprehensive assessment of racist behavior. Observations by trained observers are important for discerning the nuances of racism. Quantifiable data, given an appropriate assessment instrument, helps eliminate perceptional bias.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Limitations of the Study

A. The Complexity of Defining and Measuring Racist Behaviors

Because the word "racist" is a pejorative term, the majority of people do not want the label "racist" attributed to them. Thus, agreement among individuals, particularly from different backgrounds, on what racist behaviors are, is difficult to achieve. Racist behaviors are highly subjective and perceptions of these behaviors vary according to the unique characteristics of the perceiver. Although there was some progress made on the task of objectifying and quantifying racist behaviors, a great deal more research and experimentation is needed.

B. Subject Selection Based on Voluntary Attendance

Although an equal number (N = 15) of subjects were confirmed for each workshop, the attrition rate resulted in unequal N's for the three workshops. The attrition rate for Whites was higher than for Blacks. Since participation was voluntary, control over the number of participants attending was not possible. In addition, voluntary attendance biases the sample in that it tends to attract individuals who want to find out more information about Black culture or who are attracted by the monetary incentive.

C. The Development of an Appropriate Assessment Instrument

Legitimation/delegitimation behaviors were observable in the qualitative analysis. However, the legitimation coding scheme did not identify these behaviors in the quantitative analysis. Based on the outcomes, it appears that racist behaviors are context-bound. The written data were decontextualized, thus "neutralizing" the meaning of the behaviors. Therefore, the development of an objective, quantitative assessment instrument needs further study and investigation.

D. The Use of Unstructured Observations

Although rich and vital information was obtained from the unstructured observations, the fact that each consultant imposed his/her own unique structure and approach made observation comparisons tedious and time consuming. A semi-structured observation which outlines categories of behaviors or group

dynamics would aid the comparative analysis yet allow the observer freedom to express his/her perceptions.

E. Inadequate Funds and Staffing

The project's budgetary constraints resulted in the understaffing of project personnel and severely limited the scope of the research study. The specification of behavioral criteria for assessing racist behaviors requires innovation in research methods and the commitment of the funding agent to carry out the research.

Recommendations

Based on the experiences and outcomes of the inter-ethnic relations study, we suggest the following recommendations:

(1) A holistic research approach which integrates quantitative and qualitative techniques by:

   (a) the selection of development of appropraite, contemporary quantitative research, measures of racial attitudes and behaviors

   (b) the development of coding procedures that identify and categorize racially oriented behaviors

   (c) the use of different research methods; such as: in-depth interviews, written questionnaires, ethnographics, semi-structured observations, clinical behavioral assessments.

(2) A holistic research approach which measures the breadth and depth of racist behaviors by:

   (a) the structuring of a variety of research settings. For example, the use of different formats and materials that have racial vs. non-racial foci and content; and the use of naturalistic vs. experimental laboratory settings. This would enable the researcher to study the consistency of racist behaviors across a variety of situations.

   (b) the implementation of a longitudinal study which measures the expression and consistency of racist behaviors overtime.

   (c) the incorporation of multiple prespectives by selecting research personnel who represent different disciplines, racial/ethnic backgrounds, both sexes, conservative and liberal racial attitudes, etc. This would enable the specification of behavioral criteria for assessing racist behaviors based on a consensus and synthesis of divergent viewpoints.

(3) The further refinement of the legitimation model.

The outcomes of the data analyses, particularly the qualitative analyses, indicate that the legitimation model is a potentially viable model for the study of racist behaviors. Further refinement is needed to successfully operationalize the legitimation model.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

WORKSHOP AGENDA

APPENDIX A

THE URBAN INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN SERVICES INC.

1330 GOUGH STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 94109 • PHONE (415) 775-3500

WADE W. NOBLES, Ph.D.
President

THOMAS O. HILLIARD, Ph.D.
Vice President

PATRICIA A. BUTLER, Ph.D.
Secretary

ASA G. HILLIARD, Jr., Ed.D.
Treasurer

WILLIAM A. HAYES, Ph. D.
Projects Officer

WORKSHOP AGENDA

9:00	-	9:30	Background Information Sheet Morning Refreshments
9:30	-	10:00	Greetings and Introduction by Asa G. Hilliard
10:00	-	10:30	Historical Facts Quiz
10:30	-	10:45	Attitude Scale
10:45	-	12:30	Large Group Discussion I
12:30	-	1:30	L U N C H
1:30	-	2:30	Slide Presentation
2:30	-	3:00	Historical Facts Quiz
3:00	-	4:15	Large Group Discussion II
4:15	-	4:30	Workshop Evaluation

APPENDIX B

BACKGROUND INFORMATION SHEET

APPENDIX B

THE URBAN INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN SERVICES INC.

1330 GOUGH STREET · SAN FRANCISCO 94109 · PHONE (415) 775-3500

BACKGROUND INFORMATION SHEET

I.D.#_____

BACKGROUND INFORMATION SHEET

1. Sex ___Male ___Female

2. Age ___20-29 ___30-39 ___40-49 ___50-59 ___60-69

3. Marital Status ___Single ___Married ___Living Together

___Separated ___Divorced

4. Ethnic Background ___Asian ___Black ___Caucasian ___Hispanic

___Other (specify):_____

5. Highest Level of Education Completed

___8th grade ___Some high school ___High school graduate

___Some college ___College Graduate--Major_____

___Some graduate school ___Professional Degree (specify):_____

6. Occupational level

___Professional, proprietor of large business, high level administrator

___Semi-professional, middle level administrator

___High skill manual, owner of small business, high level white collar (craftsman, technician, salesman, accountant, etc.)

___Semi-skilled worker (building helper, farm laborer, custodian, aide, ect.)

___Unemployed, welfare, etc.

7. Previous race relations experiences (check as many as apply)

___Have persons of different races as close friend(s)

___Work with person(s) of a different ethnic/racial background

___Studied race relations in school

___Participated in other workshops involving race relations

___Live in an interracial community

___Taught seminars/courses on race relations in minority groups

___Other (specify) _____

8. Please specify any groups working in Human Rights or Civil Rights to which you belong.

_____

APPENDIX C

ATTITUDE SURVEY

APPENDIX C

THE URBAN INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN SERVICES INC.

1330 GOUGH STREET · SAN FRANCISCO 94109 · PHONE (415) 775-3500

ATTITUDE SURVEY

How do different groups react in typical situations? On the following pages are some situations involving various groups. After each situation four possible choices are given. Put a check ( ) next to the choice that you feel is the best answer to the question asked for each situation. Leave the other three choices blank.

This is a questionnaire rather than a test: your own personal opinion is the best way to answer each question. This questionnaire takes only about eight minutes to complete. Write your I.D. number at the top right-hand corner.

I.D.#_____

1. A Black man born in New England goes South for the first time and sees in a Mississippi bus station two waiting rooms, one for Black and one for whites. How do you think he would be likely to react to this?

___(a) He probably thinks it is a good thing at present, since it prevents trouble from arising.

___(b) He may notice it at first, but after awhile he probably gets used to it and it doesn't make much difference to him.

___(c) He very likely feels hurt by it, and perhaps angry.

___(d) It is hard to know exactly how he would react to such a situation, though with more information one might be able to tell.

2. A Jewish man walking through a store hears one woman say to another, "That Betty, she's always trying to Jew the sales price down." What do you suppose the Jewish man's reaction is likely to be?

___(a) Underneath he doesn't like what he has overheard.

___(b) Very likely the comment goes in one ear and out the other.

___(c) It is difficult for a non-Jew to know exactly how a Jewish person would react to this.

___(d) If he is interested at all, it might be in several things -- for example, in knowing who was such a good bargainer or what was on sale.

3. A Chinese couple opens a Chinese restaurant in a large American city. The restaurant is quite successful, but often customers mispronounce the names of Chinese foods when ordering meals. How would Chinese owners be most likely to react to this?

___(a) They would feel hurt that their customers do not take the trouble to learn to pronounce Chinese words correctly.

___(b) They would understand why Americans are likely to have trouble with a language like Chinese that they have never studied.

___(c) Without talking to the Chinese couple about the matter, it is impossible to know how they would react.

___(d) Probably the Chinese couple never even notices such mistakes in pronunciation by Americans.

I.D.#_____

4. A Black man who is working on a construction gang is always called "boy" or "Black Sambo" by the Superintendent, whereas the white workers doing the same job are called by their actual first names. How is the Black man likely to react to this?

___(a) It probably makes little difference, since over the years he is likely to have become used to it.

___(b) He probably resents it and may even hate the Superintendent for talking to him in this way.

___(c) He may well regard it as a friendly, informal way of speaking to him, especially if the Superintendent is generally a nice person.

___(d) The story does not give enough information to tell how he would react in this particular case.

5. A Jewish person reads that some teen-age boys have painted anti-Jewish slogans on a Jewish clothing store. What is his reaction likely to be?

___(a) One cannot judge fairly without knowing more about the particular Jewish person and his make-up.

___(b) Unless it was a store that he owned or traded in, he would probably not pay too much attention to the incident.

___(c) He probably regards it is as a harmless boyish prank, something the boys will grown out of in time.

___(d) He takes this seriously and doesn't like it at all.

6. Two Chinese girls get jobs in a large American business office. The white girls in the office are polite, but do not want to become too friendly with them. What is the reaction of the Chinese girls likely to be?

___(a) They might prefer it this way, since they have each other as friends and would rather not mix too much with white people.

___(b) Probably it makes little difference if the job is good in all other ways.

___(c) The Chinese are so different in some of their customs that it would be difficult for a person who is not Chinese to figure out exactly what they would think.

___(d) They would almost certainly feel sad or angry or both.

I.D.#_____

7. A Jewish boy graduates from his religious school. A Christian family that lives down the block hears of this and decides to send a small gift to the Jewish boy. What will be the Jewish family's most likely reaction when the gift arrives from the Christian family?

___(a) The Jewish parents probably will not like having Christians try to take part in what is usually just a Jewish occasion.

___(b) Since it will be only one of a number of gifts received by the boy, the Jewish family will take little or no notice of it.

___(c) The Jewish parents will very likely consider this a nice act by the Christian family and will be pleased.

___(d) The Jewish parents will probably be a little suspicious and wonder just what is in the mind of the Christian family in sending the gift.

8. A Puerto Rican in New York is trying to find an apartment and goes to an attractive apartment building. The agent meets him, and explains that he would like to rent to him but that the tenants wouldn't like having a Puerto Rican in the building. The agent suggests another very good building that specializes in apartments for non-whites. How do you think the Puerto Rican is likely to react to this?

___(a) He will probably appreciate the agent's help in recommending another good building.

___(b) It is not easy to know what such a person would really think.

___(c) He may will be sad to learn that the people in the building don't want to live near him.

___(d) Very likely he would think nothing special of it, but just keep on looking until he finds a good place that takes Puerto Ricans.

9. A group of Black teen-agers decide to picket and "sit in" at a drug store where Blacks are not allowed to sit at the same part of the soda counter as whites. What is the most likely reason for acting in this way?

___(a) They strongly dislike the drug store's policy and want to get it changed.

___(b) They are probably out on a lark, doing this mostly because it seems exciting.

___(c) The average white person in a different city cannot really understand the situation completely.

___(d) It is likely they are being put up to this by some radical organization.

I.D.#_____

10. The daily newspaper carries a story describing how a certain club in another city refused to admit a woman to membership because of her Japanese ancestry. How do you think Japanese readers of the newspaper are likely to react when they read the story?

___(a) The Japanese are so different that it is hard for a person who hasn't really studied them to know for sure how they would react.

___(b) They might very much resent having a Japanese person treated in this way.

___(c) They would probably read the article with interest, but not worry over it if the people in the other city were not known personally to them.

___(d) They would probably think that the woman was wrong in trying to join a white club in the first place when there are plenty of fine Japanese clubs.

11. The white school board in a community builds two new schools and fixes the school lines so that almost all the colored children go to one new school and all the white children to the other new school. How do you suppose most of the Blacks in the community would react to this?

___(a) While there are some exceptions, many Negroes are mainly concerned with getting money for food, rent, and other things, and so do not have too much interest in the matter of schools one way or the other.

___(b) Every community is different, and it is almost impossible for someone not living there to know enough about the situation to judge.

___(c) The average Negro mother or father would not like what the school board has done about drawing school lines.

___(d) The average Negro parent would simply be pleased to have a new school for their children, especially if it were equal to the white school in every way.

12. A Jewish couple is out for a drive in the country, and they pass a fine private club. The club has a sign out front describing the advantages of membership in the club, and at the bottom it says "Membership reserved for Christians only." How do you think the Jewish couple is likely to react to this?

___(a) It makes them unhappy to realize that they are not wanted in the club.

___(b) They might think that they could easily joing a Jewish club with twice the advantages of the club they are passing.

___(c) It is hard for a Christian to know for certain just how Jewish people react to a sign of this sort.

___(d) They may read the sign quickly, but probably wouldn't think much of it for very long.

I.D.#_____

13. A well-dressed Black man answers a "Home for Sale" advertisement in the newspaper. It happens that the home is in an all-white neighborhood. Despite the fact that the real estate agent clearly doesn't want to sell the home to him, the Black man asks to fill out an application to buy it and to leave a deposit. What is most likely the Black man's real reason for this action?

___(a) He may have connections with a business group or some other kind of group that is trying to scare white owners into selling their homes at lower prices.

___(b) He probably thinks it is a good house for his family at the price and convenient to his work.

___(c) Probably he is well-meaning enough, but just hasn't realized that the neighborhood is completely white and wants to stay white.

___(d) It is impossible to know in this case whether the Black person is simply making a mistake, or has some scheme in the back of his mind--only a careful investigation of his real motives could answer the question.

APPENDIX D

HISTORICAL FACTS QUIZ

APPENDIX D

THE URBAN INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN SERVICES INC.

1330 GOUGH STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 94109 • PHONE (415) 775-3500

HISTORICAL FACTS QUIZ

What do we know about certain events and artifacts of the past? On the historical facts quiz, write any information and opinions you have regarding the pictures presented. There are two questions for each picture. Be sure to put your I.D. number in the top right hand corner, answer all the questions and limit your responses to the space provided.

I.D.#_____

Form A

What information can you give about this picture?

Is this information important? Explain?

APPENDIX E

EVALUATION FORM

APPENDIX E

THE URBAN INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN SERVICES INC.

1330 GOUGH STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 94109 • PHONE (415) 775-3500

EVALUATION FORM

I.D. #_____

EVALUATION FORM

Please rate the following aspcects of the workshop.

	Please circle your rating			
	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Overall effectiveness of workshop	4	3	2	1
Attitude Survey	4	3	2	1
Historical Facts Quiz	4	3	2	1
Morning Large Group Discussion	4	3	2	1
Slide Presentation	4	3	2	1
Afternoon Large Group Discussion	4	3	2	1

	Very Positive	Positive	Negative	Very Negative
What impact did the workshop have on you?	4	3	2	1

Did the workshop change you in any way? Yes No

If yes, how?

What aspects of the workshop were most beneficial?

What aspects of the workshop were least beneficial?

How could the workshop have been improved?

APPENDIX F

CODING PROCEDURES

APPENDIX F

Coding Procedures

for the

Urban Institute for Human Services, Inc.

Inter-Ethnic Relations Study

I. Description of the Inter-Ethnic Relations Study

A. Background of the Study

In September, 1977, the Urban Institute for Human Services, Inc. was awarded a contract from the Office of Naval Research to conduct a human relations study. The objective of the first phase of the project was to construct a theoretical model which could be used for assessing the effectiveness of training or other interventions designed to change racist behavior. During the first six months an extensive literature review and a series of in-depth interviews were conducted which laid the groundwork for the pilot study.

In July, 1978, an all-day workshop was held at the University of California, Berkeley. Seventeen individuals of different ethnic backgrounds attended. A variety of activities were planned which focused on a slide presentation by Asa Hilliard on African, Afro-European, and Afro-American history. Data was collected from participants and from trained observers to examine behaviors and attitudes regarding race and the effect of the slide presentation on those behaviors and attitudes.

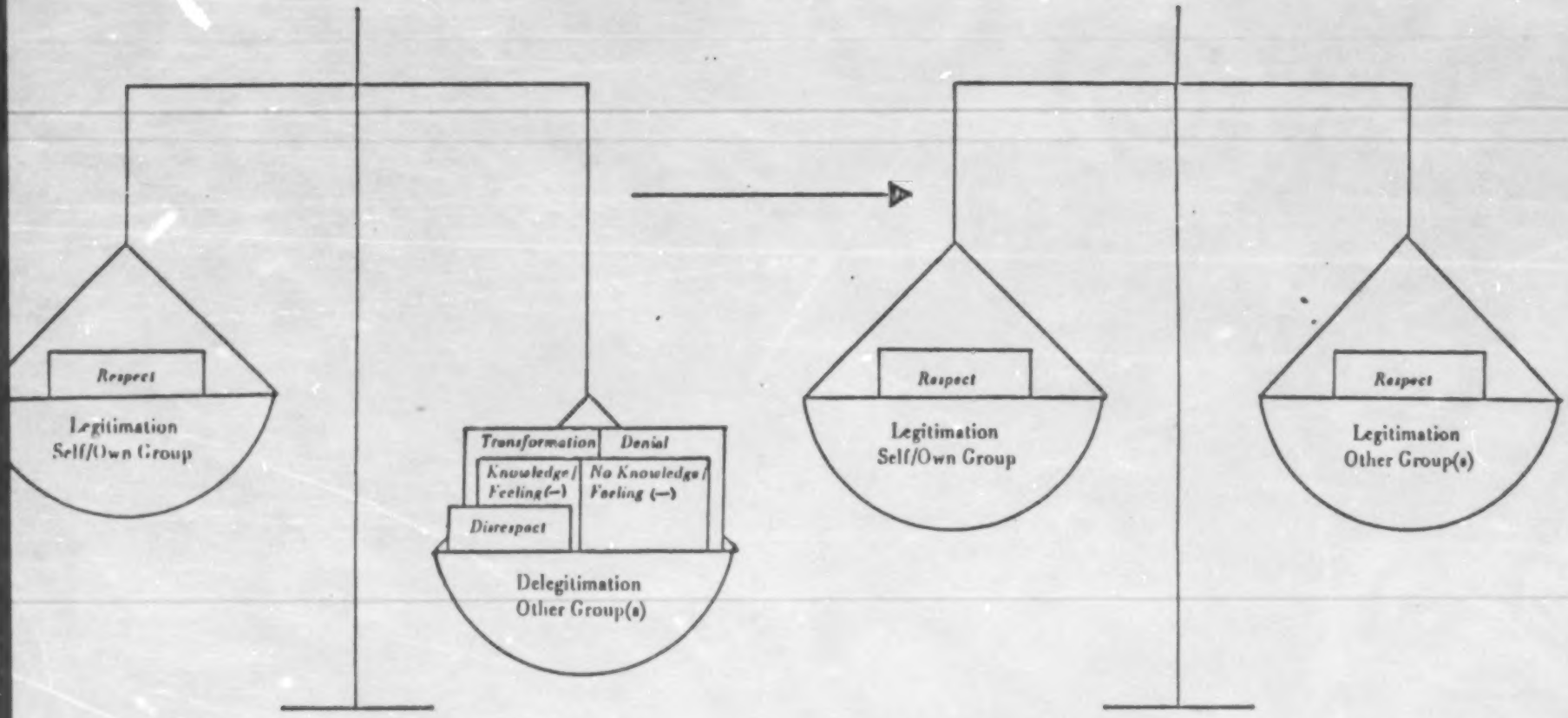
B. The Theoretical Model

From an analysis of the pilot study data, a racial legitimation theory was developed. The legitimation model assumes that racist behavior occurs when an individual or group legitimizes itself and delegitimizes another individual or group. Based on this model the definition of racism is:

> *Racism is a culturally-sanctioned belief system operating within the individual psyche and institutional structure of a society which legitimizes the domination and control by one group over other groups based on selected differences in physical characteristics, primarily differences in skin color.*

As stated in the definition of racism, a requisite condition for racist behavior is the act of subordination. In terms of our balance theory of racial legitimation, subordination or racist behavior occurs when there is an imbalance in legitimation, i.e., when one person or group is legitimated and the other person or group is not (delegitimated). Conversely, racism or racist behavior is reduced or eliminated when legitimation is balanced, i.e. when respect is given and expressed for self and one's own racial group and for another individual and his/her racial group.

BALANCE THEORY OF RACIAL LEGITIMATION



C. Purpose and Assumptions of the Present Study

The purpose of the study is as follows:

1) To specify behavioral criteria for assessing behavior which is of interest to human relations trainers, in particular that subset of behavior which can be described as racist.

2) To test the sensitivity of the specified criteria using a race relations training intervention, a slide tape presentation on the history of African people from ancient times to the present, in Africa and in the African diaspora.

Assumptions of the Study

The study was planned based on the following assumptions:

1) Racism in behavior operates as part of the general culture and is, for the most part, independent of labels, such as, liberal or conservative.

2) The form of racist behavior is situation-dependent and will vary according to significant situational factors, such as the racial composition of the group.

D. The Present Study

Three workshops were conducted this summer by the Urban Institute staff. The workshops consisted of: 1) all Black participants, 2) all White participants, and 3) a mixed group of Black and White subjects. The participants were referred by community and university personnel. A total of 32 participants attended the workshops.

The diagram below illustrates the racial composition and format of the workshops.

All Black N=13	All White N=10	Mixed (Black & White) N=9

Background Information Sheet
Attitude Scale
Historical Facts Quiz (pre-test)
Large Group Discussion I

→ Slide Tape Presentation "Return to the Source" →

Historical Facts Quiz (post)
Large Group Discussion II
Workshop Evaluation

II. Coding Instructions

A. Definition of Legitimation Categories

Nine major categories for codifying the data from the racial legitimation model. These categories represent a behavioral continuum ranging from delegitimation to legitimation. Graphically, the behavioral continuum is:

Delegitimation	Neutrality	Awareness	Legitimation
-Disrespect	-Knowledge/No Feeling	-Self Disclosure	-Respect
-Transformation	-No Knowledge/Feeling	-External Realization	
-Denial	-No Knowledge/No Feeling		

The Delegitimation categories are examples of either active or passive refusal to recognize and respect another individual, or group, or information about another individual or group.

Disrespect

Disrespect refers to behaviors, i.e., verbal and written responses by the participants, which devalue, discredit, denigrate, or invalidate another individual or group.

Operationally, disrespect refers to negative statements made by the participant. These may be expressions of hostility, resentment, dislike.

Ex: "I do not like Black people."
"I do not like White people."

Transformation

Transformation refers to responses which:

1) project stereotypic images onto an individual or group

Ex: "All Black people can dance."

"Whites have no feelings."

2) project the feelings, values, or attitudes of the participant onto an individual or group.

Ex: "If I were Black in the 60's I would have tried to achieve my rights through legal channels rather than through riots."

3) distort or misinterpret information, meaning or intent.

Ex: Question: "I think the slide presentation should be used in schools".

Answer: "I don't think it's good to propagandize children about race.

Denial

Denial refers to responses which:

1) indicate lack of identification with one's racial or ethnic group.

Ex: "I don't see myself as Black or White, I see myself as a person"

2) avoid, ignore, or disregard information probes or inquiries.

Ex: Question: How do you feel about the information you've seen?

Response: My feelings are irrelevant, it's what the group thinks that is important.

The Neutral Categories are categories which reflect non-evaluative responses about or to an individual, group, or information.

Knowledge/No Feeling

Knowledge/No Feeling refers to responses which recognize or acknowledge information, an individual or group without affect. These responses are generally factual statements or probes.

Ex: "This is a picture of King Tut."

Ex: "I know why I said what I did but why do you think I said it?"

No Knowledge/Feeling

No Knowledge/Feeling refers to responses which express vague or generalized affect without any indication or explanation for the affect.

Ex: "I feel bad."

"That's too bad."

"I have these prejudiced feelings but I don't know why I have them."

No Knowledge/No Feeling

No Knowledge/No Feeling refers to responses where the participant has insufficient knowledge or feeling to assess the information or to respond appropriately. These responses include:

1) No response
2) Don't knows
3) Questions requesting information

Ex: "Why did you make that statement?"

"What is the purpose of the slide presentation?"

The Awareness categories indicate the participant's awareness of internal feelings, the sharing of personal experiences, or insights resulting from new information, social interactions or introspection.

Self-Disclosure

Self-disclosure refers to responses which indicate:

1) the participant's internal feelings.

Ex: "I feel threatened by what I've seen."

2) personal experiences

Ex: "I was very active in the civil rights movement in the '60's which gave me a clear view of racism in America."

3) self-discovery through introspection

Ex: "I've finally begun to understand my own prejudices.

External Realization

External realization refers to responses which indicate:

1) a change, generally positive, in the participant's perception, feelings, or understanding due to some external stimulus or situation, such as, new information or social interaction.

Ex: "Through the discussion, I now see the need to talk about racial issues."

2) Global statements or generalizations about racial issues or solutions to racial problems.

Ex: "The world would be a better place if all races worked together."

The Legitimation category indicates respect for self, one's racial/ethnic group, another individual, or another racial/ethnic group.

Respect

Respect refers to positive responses which express liking, appreciation or admiration.

Ex: "I think all cultures make unique and valuable contributions which should be shared."

B. Definition of the Racial Content Categories

There are four racial content categories which are sub-categories of each of the nine major categories. These categories are to be used for racial statements or responses which have racial content. The participant's ethnicity or race is always the coding referent, i.e., the coder must refer to the participant's racial identification to determine which category to code the response.

The racial content categories are:

Toward One's Own Racial/Ethnic Group

Toward One's Own Group refers to responses of the participant about his/her racial group or members of the group.

Ex: "That was a good thing that happened in the '60's. It was a good thing for people like you and me as Black to throw off various types of shackles."

By One's Own Racial/Ethnic Group

By one's own group refers to:

1) collective references to the actions, attitudes, or feelings expressed by the participant's racial or ethnic group toward him/her or toward other individuals of the same racial group.

   Ex: "I believe Blacks look out for Blacks."

2) personal experiences or incidents about the attitudes, feelings or actions by members of the participant's racial group toward him/her or other members of the same racial group:

   Ex: "To get into one of those Black sororities you had to be really lightskinned. But I was really Black, came off a farm and I was really discriminated against and pushed aside."

Toward Other Racial/Ethnic Group

Toward Other Racial/Ethnic Group refers to responses about a racial/ethnic group or its members which is different from the participant's.

Ex: "I always think of Jews as good with money."

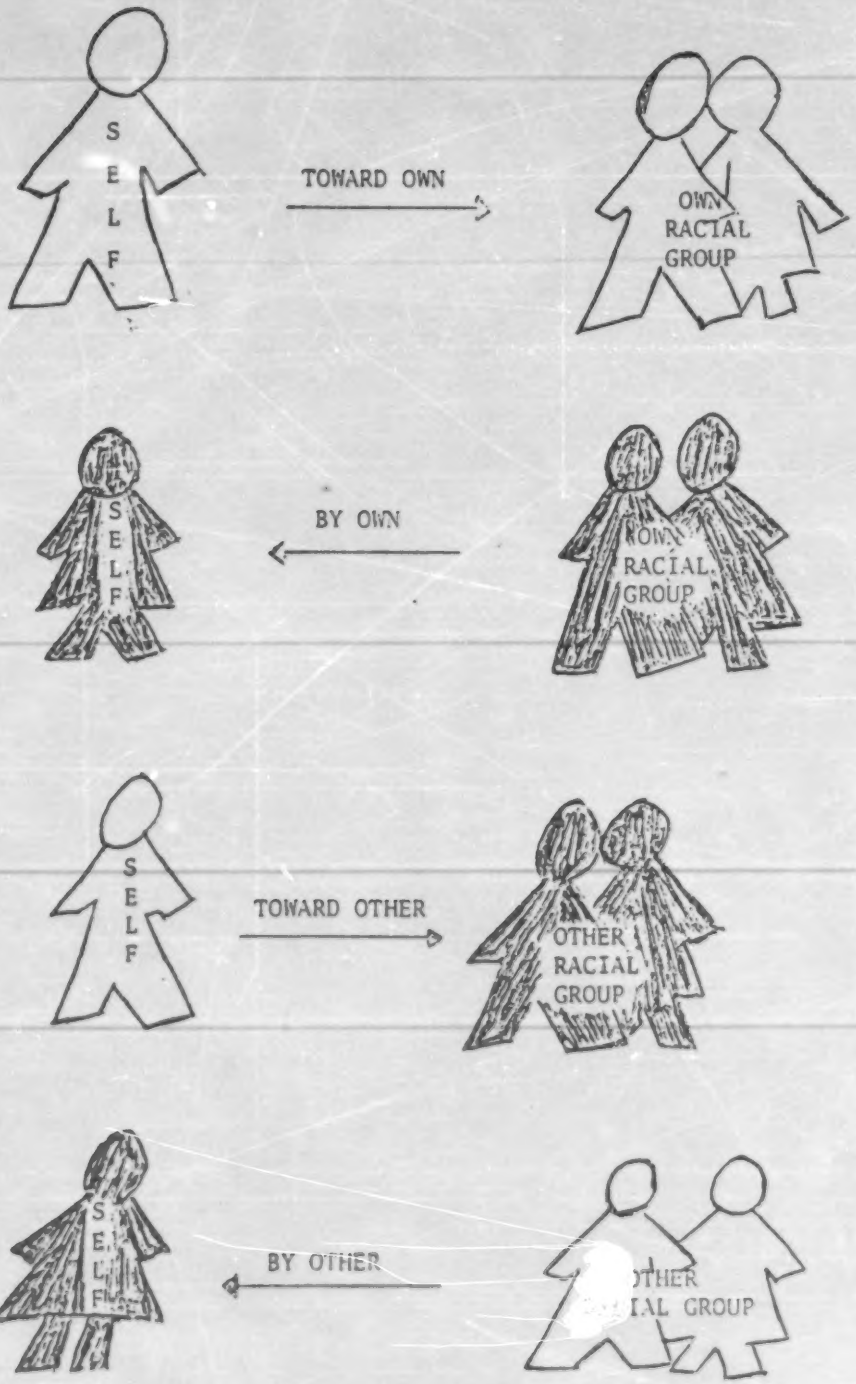
By Other Racial/Ethnic Group

By other racial/ethnic group refers to responses that describe actions, attitudes or feelings expressed by another racial group or its members toward the participant or his/her racial group.

Ex: "I remember when I taught in a predominantly Black school and was snubbed by the Black teachers."
(white female participant)

The following diagram illustrates the subject, object and direction of the response.

RACIAL CONTENT CATEGORIES



The following chart outlines the legitimation and racial content categories:

DELEGITIMATION	NEUTRAL	AWARENESS	LEGITIMATION
Disrespect Toward own racial/ethnic group By Toward other racial/ethnic group By	Knowledge/No Feeling Toward own racial/ethnic group By Toward other racial/ethnic group By	Self-Disclosure Toward own racial/ethnic group By Toward other racial/ethnic group By	Respect Toward own racial/ethnic group By Toward other racial/ethnic group By
Transformation Toward own racial/ethnic group By Toward other racial/ethnic group By	No Knowledge/Feeling Toward own racial/ethnic group By Toward other racial/ethnic group By	External Realization Toward own racial/ethnic group By Toward other racial/ethnic group By	
Denial Toward own racial/ethnic group By Toward other racial/ethnic group By	No Knowledge/No Feeling Toward own racial/ethnic group By Toward other racial/ethnic group By		

C. Uncodable Responses

Responses that can not be coded under any of the legitimation categories will be coded in the "uncodable" category.

D. The Coding Key

Code		Legitimation Category
DR	=	Disrespect
T	=	Transformation
DN	=	Denial
K	=	Knowledge/No Feeling
F	=	No Knowledge/Feeling
NK	=	No Knowledge/No Feeling
SD	=	Self Disclosure
ER	=	External Realization
R	=	Respect
		Racial Content Category
TW	=	Toward Own Racial/Ethnic Group
BW	=	By Own Racial/Ethnic Group
TT	=	Toward Other Racial/Ethnic Group
BT	=	By Other Racial/Ethnic Group
		Uncodable Category
U	=	Uncodable

E. How to Code the Data

1. Each coder will receive a packet of materials which consists of:

   a) the historical facts quiz - pre-tests (N=32)

      the historical facts quiz - post-tests (N=32)

   b) typed transcripts of the large group discussions morning and afternoon sessions (6 sessions)

   c) a typed transcript of the slide presentation narrative (1 copy)

   d) an ethnic identification list (1 copy)

2. Put your name in the top right hand corner on each historical facts quiz and each transcript of a large group discussion session.

3. You should read each individual response carefully. Determine which of the nine legitimation categories is the appropriate category and put the category code next to the response in the right hand margin.

   Ex: "This is a picture of a sphinx." K

   After you have coded the response under one of the legitimation categories, if the response is regarding race or is racial in content put a slash after the legitimation code and write in the appropriate racial content category code by referring to the entire identification list. On the historical facts quiz the participant I.D.# is in the top right hand corner. On the large group discussion transcripts, the I.D.#'s are in the left hand margin.

   (see example on next page)

	ID#	Response	Code
Ex:	#104	"I am proud to be Black."	R/TW
	#210	"I always think of Jews as good with money."	T/TT

4. If the response can not be subsumed under the legitimation coding scheme then put a "U" code by the response in the right hand margin.

5. There should be a minimum of one code per response. If the response contains more than one discrete unit of information, each information unit should be coded. However, if the response is an elaboration of one theme or unit of information it receives only one code.

6. All coded materials should be returned on Monday, December 10th.

I.D. #'s, Ethnicity and Sex of Workshop Participants

Workshop #1

101 - Black female
102 - Black male
103 - Black male
104 - Black female
105 - Black male
106 - Black female
108 - Black male
109 - Black female
110 - Black male
111 - Black female
112 - Black female
113 - Black female
116 - Black male

Workshop #2

201 - White female
202 - White female
203 - White female
205 - Asian female
206 - White female
207 - White male
208 - Asian female
209 - White female
211 - White female
212 - White female

Workshop #3

301 - White male
302 - Black female
303 - Black female
305 - Black female
307 - Black female
309 - Black female
310 - Black male
311 - Black male
312 - White male

APPENDIX G

CONSULTANT'S REPORT NO. 1

APPENDIX G

Overview:

Group Ethnography

Analyzing six hours of video-taped group discussions is a relatively new and experimental technique in social science research. Fred Erickson, Hugh Meehan, Aaron Ciaourel, and John Gumperz in anthropology and sociology have been advocates of the methodology. Their concern, however, has primarily been linguistic or language usage as it applies to social and psychological factors. The field has become known as ethnomethodology. Both its advocates and critics contend that the linguistic analyses can be limiting and often void of meaning given the lack of contextual referants when solely analyzed through video techniques.

Symbolic interaction is a more appropriate and useful perspective because it concentrates on group interaction, but the method can also have the same limitations (lack of referant material through interviews and observations) when analyzing video tape data alone. Blumer (1969) argued that to understand behaviors, the researcher must study the perspectives of all those interacting in a particular situation. Given, one of the overall purposes of this study, "to specify behavioral criteria for assessing racist behavior", the symbolic interactionist perspective appears most relevant. The

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*Blumer, Herbert. Symbolic Interactionism. Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1979.

use of video tapes as the sole source of data for an ethnography does present constraints, as mentioned above, and other including: research participation and observation, follow-up interviews, basic demographic data base, and non-taped behaviors, among others. However, symbolic interactionism focuses upon the interactive behaviors of participants in the group and allows for a more fully descriptive ethnography.

Followirg the symbolic interactionist perspective, there appeared to be at least five substantive areas (see next section on Research Methodology) that cut across all three groups as major concerns among several members in each group: orientation, self, situation, film/slide content, and economics. Each group also identified a set of solutions for racism that were somewhat similar in each group. The solutions warrant a separate discussion which follow the ethnographies.

What follows is an ethnographic description of each group based on the concerns common to all. Each group is discussed in detail. The reader is already familiar with the purpose of the study, the group composition, the goals for the group, and the processes for facilitating each group's session. A summary of each group is given, but the actual solutions are left for the last section on Recommendations; separated into those from the Groups, and from the Researcher.

Research Methodology

Video-tapes were played (2 hours of each group: n = 6 hours) back for observation, note-taking and audio-tape recordings. The taped sessions consisted of one hour in the morning of each group (Black, White and Inter-Racial) and one afternoon session lasting an hour. Six hours of tapes were analyzed.

Prior information about the groups, the tapes, or the sessions was limited to abstracted printed matter and a short explanation by Ms. Yolanda Jenkins. The tapes were analyzed in Dr. Asa Hilliard's office at San Francisco State University behind closed doors.

After the tapes were reviewed (some were stopped, played back or run forward), several hours were spent sorting the data. Five categories arose which appeared to cover or cross-cut, for comparative purposes, all three groups: (1) Orientation refers to the group participants' world-view; (2) Self reflects their sense of who they are; (3) Situation means their view of San Francisco, the Bay Area or California as influencing their views about race relations; (4) Content concerned their views of the film and slide presentation; (5) Economics was a major topic of discussion.

There may be other and better categories but these five appeared to be universal and reflect both the time and attention of the participants. Non-verbal behavior was addressed as part of the method as were linguistic items. The former were difficult to assess via a video camera (although items such as males/females, outsiders to group, dominant speakers could be presented). The

linguistic data was far easier and more convenient due to its significance in a video-tape format.

Conclusions and recommendations were made as objectively as possible. No attempt was made to intercede with other research material or related data. The researcher's opinions and biases were set aside.

Group Ethnography
Report Content

Overview

Research Methodology

Group A: All Black

- Orientation
- Self
- Situation
- Content: Film and Slides
- Economics

Group B: All White

- Same

Group C: Inter-racial

Recommendations

- Group
- Researcher

Group Ethnography:

All Black Group

General

The all Black group was very lively and busy. There were a number of outside observers and never a loss for words. Two middle-aged Black men dominated both morning and afternoon sessions with long comments on religious beliefs and especially "spiritualism".* Few women said very much, reminding one of the stereotypical roles within the Black community: the men talk; the women do. One of the Black men who dominated the conversation acknowledged this stereotype by saying, "Rapping and giving the handshake, ain't enough." He then rapped on. Nevertheless, of those who did talk, there was a sense of group cohesion, openness, and honesty or trust among all the participants.

Orientation

In almost all cases, participants expressed their views of the racist situation in the U.S. as "we" or "us", (as contrasted with the all White group saying "I"). One person remarked that "Blacks are more open than Whites" in what they feel or say to each other. That may be true among a group of all Blacks but it certainly finds expression in what participants said about themselves as a group, a solid entity, a cohesive unit. Examples abound: "pressure on us was greater (than other groups) during the depression." "Why patronize the people (Japanese) who hate us?" "It's against the

law for Black people to make it in the U.S.A." "We've done" this or that.

Several individuals referred to "Blacks" as a whole. "Blacks have a problem due to Blacks not being strong spiritually." "Blacks are under attack." "Blacks can't afford a single man or woman to be a gay or a hippie."

One woman who talked late in the discussion even categorized Blacks into two groups" "those who get off in different things", (that is, watch T.V.); and "those aware of problems" or are willing to change things. A sense of community prevailed which meant for most of those who spoke up that Black people must live and work in their community to keep their racial identity.

This particular orientation may have something to do with the initial selection of the discussion group itself and the dominance of two men during both sessions. One other somewhat outspoken person, a young male college student, appeared to symbolize to the group as being an example of an educated black who could be seen as outside the community. The student was forced to defend himself. He did so by pointing out what "I've done", (a linguistic characteristic of the all-white group and perhaps evidence of what the all-Black group point was -- education removes Blacks from the community).

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*Quotation marks " " are the actual words used by members of the group.

Self

The student gave two personal examples, where he, unlike other "Blacks at Dartmouth" was still oriented to the community. He mentioned one occasion where the Black Students Association of the college was organizing a trip to Harlem. "I was the only one who wanted to go". On another occasion at Harvard Business School, he recalled how all the Blacks wanted to get into big business, but "I asked what about the community?" He said that he was a "small lonely voice". Despite the self-aggrandizement, the group members neither challenged nor contradicted him. He was an apparent exception to the rule which the others described or they just let him go on.

The the discussion of "self" really focused upon "spiritual" beliefs. "We don't work at the spiritual thing", and "We have got to do something about spiritual growth". Here there was some debate. The two men who steered much of the discussion brought up the need for more spiritual commitment among Blacks. Later, one woman challenged that by saying that the Black church has served to keep Blacks in their place. The two men countered with an explanation that dealt with the inner-self as they too were against organized religion. The argument sounded very San Franciscan in that it promoted "human growth" (the "me" generation) as opposed to the "group solidarity" that the two men were so vehemently pushing at other times.

Further research may clarify these points, but the inherent distinction between the self and group is apparent. Geographical

location or the area in which Blacks and Whites live had some influence on the self and group differences. Location and situation often influence beliefs and behaviors.

Situation

The participants felt that San Francisco was a typical American city (in direct contrast to the all White group). There are many different ethnic groups in one place which makes "racial attitudes stronger today". Different people cited examples where being in San Francisco was difficult: a depression was coming; other racial and ethnic groups are favored; competing cultures exist; and have a repressive cycle now.

The one strong dislike of San Francisco concerned the growing gay community. Those who said anything, see the gays as a direct threat to Blacks: personally and economically. "Being gay is an attack on us", and even more so, the judgement that being "gay is due to the luxury of an idle society."

The particular situation in which racism is viewed can be directly transferred to the film and slide show which the group saw. "Things haven't changed", was a common response.

Content

The film clearly provoked discussion because the group heard issues and saw people acting in 1968 as they do today. "Nothing has changed", was the chorus. Yet some participants probed further and expressed anger at certain characters in the film (especially

a Black woman "who acted White").

The slide show generated agreement that it told the truth. The group wanted even more information from Dr. Hilliard. Reaction was very sophisticated in that several people knew that, as Sir Malcolm Muckenridge put it, "History is from the view of victors". The King Tut Exhibit was an example of how much Blacks can be proud of their African heritage.

A consensus developed within the group, and on a broader basis than the two men, that Blacks "must redirect their energies". With a depression coming, "Blacks will have to do more for themselves as Whites get more hostile." One person noted the need to get into the mass media more - "as the slide show demonstrates". Others mentioned taking more control over their lives, "We've got the bucks". and "We can no longer feel hopeless or helpless, because we are not."

Economics

The sense of positive action from viewing the slide show tied the two sessions together. Some talk of economics came up in the morning discussion. As one participant put it, "Blacks don't know the economic system" Yet, at least the two domineering men had a fairly good idea of how the latent economic system works. They described how people organize based on family, community or race to generate capital. These techniques are not usually taught in business classes.

One example of how the Jews did it was given. By the afternoon session, the example extended to include how the Mormons were expanding. "A conflict between Mormons and Jews", especially "in the mass media" was even predicted.

Several self, group and economic issues were combined to form suggestions for action in the afternoon discussion. For instance, Black people could get together to raise funds or share information over a pot luck dinner. Other suggestions included teaching children and replacing education with specific skills to handle and take "control over the capitalist economic system."

Group Ethnography:

All White Group

General

All but one of the participants was female, and the one male said very little during both sessions. There were fewer people in the group than the all Black group and there appeared to be only two observers. In general, the group seemed somewhat nervous and tense. They were certainly more guarded and unemotional. The second session provoked more interaction and emotion. One older White woman seemed to dominate the discussion with personal "stories". Two Oriental women in the group said very little.

Orientation

The most notable difference between the two racial groups was how much the members of the all White group would say, "I did" this or that. Everything was expressed in that way. Personal experiences dominated everyone's remarks. At least three reasons come to mind for this behavior. One is clearly a desire to establish a person's credentials, that is, as one person put it, "I want to be accepted by Blacks, so I did" this or that. Another reason is to distinguish the "I" from "us/we" which indicates a certain lack of group identity. The last reason is that that technique allows one to remain distant and aloof from the topics under discussion. Some combination of these reasons may have influenced people to state their perceptions in very personal terms.

The issue of I versus us actually was raised when several people voiced the opinion that being Black or White was not important, only that "people are all human beings". "Race" to the members of the group "was secondary". Another person even voiced some concern that there was too much emphasis "today on roots". She went on to wonder if having roots was a contradiction "in basic American values" (i.e. melting pot).

As a whole, the participants wanted to set themselves up as "different white folks". They were more apt to voice sympathy and identity with Blacks. However, on several occassions when this got into very personal examples, certain boundaries were raised in relationship to Blacks (especially after seeing the slide program).

Self

Considerable concern for self development was expressed (not spiritual) but it appeared to be defined by relations with Blacks. Almost one by one, the discussants talked about their self development in terms of experiences with Black people. Some women married Black men, others lived in Black communities while others were activists for causes involving Blacks.

Conflict over these examples of self development arose at certain points. For example, one woman confessed that she "married a Black man for his color". She discovered this seven years later. Another woman said she went to the Black community as a "missionary but soon learned different". Yet another woman apparently wanted to be accepted by Blacks so she lived in the Fillmore District and was even "raped twice before I was accepted."

The selection of the group may have been done so that a particular set of people sympathetic to the Black community were present, but at least three of the women expressed a sense of failure with their attempts to be part of the Black community (hence a renewed search for self). One questioned Affirmative Action in that she lost a job because she was not a minority. "I'm a feminist first". Another commented on her prejudice about her brother-in-law. "He was Portuguese and married into our family (Chinese)". So she sees "prejudice in terms of character and personality". A third woman is married to a "White bigot". He is a comedian and makes racial and ethnic jokes as part of "his

personal (not 'professional') routine". "Everyone loves it, even our Black friends". Others in the group wondered. Thus, the participants had a strange way of defining self development: it was in relation to other people (some with males and especially Blacks as a group). These definitions of oneself were all set in the geographical context of San Francisco.

Situation

"San Francisco is atypical". "It's different here". Clearly this group felt that San Francisco is unique because it encourages and fosters racial, ethnic and cultural harmony. Most of the group members were drawn to San Francisco due to its diversity. They seemed to equate liberalism with freedom to express themselves. The film and slide show presentations generated even more ethnocentric comments.

Content

While the film provoked some discussion about racism, the general tone of the group was agreement that the issues today were the same as those in 1968. San Francisco was different than most places, but the issues were still there. "At least now, we are talking about issues." One woman went on to say "I believe things can be different . . . Prejudice exists but now it is more subtle".

The slide show provoked some interesting results. First, there were several people who challenged the content of the show. Dr. Hilliard had to defend the show on several points. Second, some agreement emerged on how white society had destroyed the

fabric of Black society (family structure). Third, the group changed its tone to a general indictment of the mass media as being conservative ("television is money interest only"). Finally, a discussion of what others might think. Some, Blacks and Whites, will get angry; others will challenge data and others will accept it; and some people will see contrasts to art and culture (as with King Tut). As one person said, "it took riots to get African History taught in schools, but I'm not advocating that."

Economics

Little was said about militant or political action except to recognize that urban riots did cause some sparks to fly. But the group recognized that the economic system is at the root of the problem. Most opinions were in terms of a Marxist analysis without either a Marxist or Capitalist solution. No attention to propose economic solutions was given. Racism was not connected to economics.

Group Ethnography:

Inter-racial Group

General

Of the seven people in the group, there were two White males, the other five were Black (one male) and a Black cameraman who contributed frequently. One White male talked at length early on in the dialogue while the other remained almost mute. The other participants were fairly well divided in talk time.

The pattern of the White "I" and Black "We/Us" prevailed. One older Black woman used the "I did" this or that structure and it became evident that she had assimulated into the White community. Several Blacks pointed that out to her.

There were several observers in the room plus two small children. The cameraman's intervention appeared to be distractive at first. Then he almost became part of the group. The Black members of the group were visibly more lively and emotional. As they tended to exhibit these behaviors more, they appeared to make the White participants more submissive and quiet -- withdrawn. On the whole, this group dealt more intensively and at length with the contents of the slide show.

Orientation

The one White male who did talk did so at the very beginning. He went on a long personal lecture for a good fifteen minutes on

how he had been here or there, knew so and so and was now part of the Black community. No one ever challenged his credentials, but he ended his talk by saying that there had been significant changes since the 1960s. An older Black man said no, "society has not changed that much, individuals have." He gave an example where a job was "allocated to a Black man only because of Affirmative Action." In other words, companies would not change unless they were made to do so.

But a young woman went even further. She argued that there were "social" (read as personal) changes but there were really "few economic changes". She cited examples and set the tone for both morning and afternoon sessions. On the social change front, she noted how "people realize that the stereotypes of people of color are not true. Whites are now seeing that these beliefs are not true."

The group concurred. Problems between Blacks and Whites are rare on the personal level but get bad on the group level because it begins to emphasize the economics of their respective situations. As one participant put it, "If Whites really thought that we were inferior, then they won't spend so much time trying to put us down".

Self

The development of one's self was an important theme in this group. Spiritual references also were strong. In each case, however, there was direct reference to the concerns for the Black

community. "As long as the White man wants supremacy, he must have a system that maintains the present system".

One woman gave an example. She had a good job but her White male boss felt that she should be "less Black" (her hairstyle, clothes, and language reflected the Black community); she was fired.* Others in the discussion gave examples where they had to chose who (White or Black) to identify with. As one person put it, after viewing the slide show, "Whites are constantly taking another group's culture. They have none of their own." Blacks, on the other hand, tend to set trends.

In summary, each discussant agreed on the importance of developing one's own self image. And history was the key. To develop the "whole person, history makes up the individual". History "broadens people's perspective". When the truth is told, history can be very illuminating.

Situation

History, of course, takes place in time and space. San Francisco, according to this group, is a different place. Unlike other parts of the U.S.A., San Francisco is unique. The Black cameraman commented likewise and added that "having been born here" he sees things differently whenever he travels.

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*Recent cultural observation; Black women who had their hair in traditional African braids with beads have now been copied by style-conscious Whites because Bo Derek, the perfect "10", in a feature film wore her hair that way.

However, one person noted that the "world is here for everyone". The White's control the world now and want everyone to see it that way through the media. But "all you need to do is go to other countries. The USA is a small part of the world". Another person, said earlier that the only way that race relations ("White over Colored") will change is "when other countries force the USA to change economically -- when they influence the USA power base." Meanwhile San Francisco appeared to be a comfortable place to await that global revolution.

Content

The film seemed to provoke little direct comment but much talk related to its content about race relations. One White male apparently felt a need to establish his Black credentials but few people even made reference to it. The slide show was different. People addressed it directly.

Most of the comments came from the Black discussants. One White male (the quiet one) said that the show challenged his "basic beliefs". He went on to say that "religion would crumble if it (the information in the slides) got out." A Black woman gave a truely emotional response by saying, "if White people can do all these things to keep the truth from us, we have every reason to be afraid of them," "I'm very upset by it" (the slide show) said another Black woman. Other Blacks echoed those sentiments.

One man said that he was aware of bits and pieces of the information, but never saw it "compiled". From that point people

gave personal examples of how they had been treated differently because of their race. The discussion then focused on the media and fashion as two areas where Blacks have really had a bad deal. "Clothes are made for certain kinds of women (White)". From that point, the group talked about the problem of teaching and changing people based on the slide show. Numerous suggestions were made, but one area stood out: economic change.

Economics

Along with the individual's social relations, economic conditions have made race relations bad in the past and will continue to do so in the future. Re-emphasizing the earlier session's conversation, the "Black community must develop its own economic base", as White ethnic and religious groups have, was the group sentiment.

As with the other group discussions, education was brought into the economic picture. "What do you do with education once you got it?" asked one older Black man. An older Black woman (in college herself) remarked "people come out of education and are brainwashed; they go back to Charlie". Education is only important if it is used for the "economic needs of the Black community". While people agreed with that sentiment, the researcher felt few in the group were actually living in the Black community.

Recommendations

Groups

Across all groups, there was general agreement that not much had really changed over the last eleven years on either societal or economic levels in the U.S. On the individual level, race relations have much improved. Numerous examples were given especially around marital relations.

The groups also tended to agree on the importance of economic change, especially in the Black community. While the all White group never got very specific on anything, they too recognized that economics was a basic element in dividing the races. The all Black group had some specific suggestions on what to do. The slide show moreover seemed to motivate this group to take some action on changing the economic conditions in the Black community.

Education, like economics, was seen by the groups in somewhat the same way. This time, education was considered a definite liability. The all White group, again, never really got into the issue in any depth. Basically, education or mis-education (the slide show demonstrated how mis-educated Blacks and Whites have been) destroys the sense of oneself and culture. In short, Black people became "brainwashed" into a mythical White belief system. They then fail to help other Blacks and have enormous psychological problems.

At the individual level, the most change can be seen in race relations. But the groups seemed to agree that the "spiritual development" had to occur as well. It was not enough to relate to whites or Blacks on a one-to-one basis. Blacks (in particular, but one can presume as a message to Whites) need to get themselves figured out and take control of their own lives. The self-development (spiritual) theme, in fact, is a very pervasive one in San Francisco. The all White group, however, took the notion of self-actualization in another way and applied it to all people -- beyond race (a form of self-denial). The inter-racial group made the spiritual or self issue very much part of a racial group identity.

Without question, each group felt that the children of today represented the future of racial relations (that poses some good research questions re: children of the 1960s and 1970s in the 1980s on their racial attitudes). In every group, there was some platitude made to children. More needs to be done on this subject but the only mention of exactly what to do came from the all Black group after they saw the slide show: "we send (to school) our kids to be social workers rather than learn services, entrepreuners, business people, designers, etc. What do we do to provide for our own needs? We have got to start calling our own shots". Or as another person in that group said after viewing the slide show, "Whites think Blacks are crazy in having children. They (children) are our future."

Researcher

I have not seen the slide show but it sounds like information I studied as a graduate student in 1967-1968 at Northwestern University in the African Studies Program. So what is so new? Perhaps just that. Some of us who researched and taught the contents of Dr. Hilliard's slide show fail to realize that the general public does not know the facts. They should know, even if they are distressing. Otherwise, indeed over the past twelve years nothing has changed.

How to do it? I believe that the mass media is one significant avenue; that the media is, in general, the best approach. My own positive experiences with the media confirms its potential to change people's behaviors. To do so takes work, and especially a coordinated economic effort. Programs with substance can be done, but they have to be initiated in the form of an economic venture. Once a program (video or film) is done, it can be sold (marketed) to schools, colleges, businesses, or the military.

Ours is a media-oriented society, so substantive material is needed to fill the constant demand. Why not fill it? Pick themes, topics, or issues that are controversial. I would bet a television show based on the same kind of format used in this study could be done; sold and marketed. It's worth a try. Just do it.

APPENDIX H

CONSULTANT'S REPORT NO. 2

APPENDIX H

The rate of interpersonal interactions increased as compared to the AM group or to any of the groups that contained Whites. The overall rhythm of discussion became variable with volitional control replaced now with phases of communication excitements. It's nature became more representative of Black communications, more frequent global and high context features, being people oriented it recognized Whites as well as themselves but not always agreement or positive feeling.

Several states of consciousness emerged in various group members; expanded consciousness, internal scanning, sharing of stored memories and suggestibility. There was provision of emotional and intellectual support, amplification of emotional intensity, brainstorming for alternative solutions, an increasing of the range of alternative solutions by considering if the conflict would exist in the intermediate future and if so, how would Blacks likely approach it then. The future perspective also focused on the conflict's impact on Black children. For more specifics see the chart attached.

Noted was the group's increased confrontation of conflict and subsequent penetration of the conflict. The condemnation of White behavior in regards to the conflict was clear, sharp and recognized as requiring more holistic and relational approaches -- political, economical, spiritual, educational, artistic as well as creative synthesis. Further, that the effort should include the very young, the elderly and those in between. Finally, that more effort was to be expended within the Black community as compared to efforts that crossed

The American society is one that continues to be divided against itself. The 'why' of this state - race against race, irrational bitterness toward minority groups by the group which has to continue to identify itself as the superior group daily - is puzzling.

Indeed, it seems that various reasons are put forth from time to time to justify (legitimate) the actions that are meant to effect an inherent inequality between Blacks and Whites. The bases for such a legitimation are multiple, complexly interwoven and regularly occurring displays. They are designed to restate and re-inforce this spiritually fragmenting, morally devastating, intergroup alienating (and thus weakening) mechanism, a mechanism that inevitably is conflict generating. Importantly, it serves as an etiologically significant psychosocial stressor that creates and recreates on a nation-wide scope a moral transgression which saps vital work energy and invariably causes the nation (in full view of other nations) an over-all loss of its sense of self-esteem. Further, it plunges the nation again and again into a painful preoccupation with shameful and guilty acts or thoughts along with their commonly resultant emotional turning against self, decreased creativity and work productivity inhibition.

The question this project chose to address then is one of vital interests to the races of Americans and to the nation's sense of well being.

This project had as its goal the construction of a theoretical model which could be used for assessing the effectiveness of training or other interventions designed to change racist behavior. A variety of activities were planned. One of which was an all day workshop in which 17 persons of different ethnic background attended. Some of their discussion groups were videotaped. A clinical view of them follows.

Discussion of Findings

The researchers designed a model that was primarily an educational methodology for solving common problems in a group member format. The focus was placed not on the individual per se but on the intergroup and intra-group conflict roles. If a group member became involved in an 'individual focused' way, the emotional issues of the conflict roles were expressed as such. However, the facilitator would intervene at some appropriate place to bring out those aspects of the relationship that would re-focus on conflicting roles within and between groups rather than on a personal problem.

The current social roles of Blacks and Whites in the USA reflects original conflicting solutions that remain unacceptable and destructive at multiple levels of consideration. The groups were first viewed at discussion, having just seen a film that dealt with the question of inter-racial perspectives in regards to each other and how such beliefs affected their individual and collective behavior. A brief test on Black History was given each group. A lecture (that included

slides) then followed during which primarily new and significant historical information regarding Blacks was presented. Each group was viewed in discussion following that presentation.

The researchers had come across certain factors that seem to be operative in situations like this. These and other items were established and rated.

It should be mentioned that the new and significant historical information regarding Blacks that was presented challenged some of the participants deepest beliefs. It clearly questioned whether certain of their perspectives were the result of reasoned and critical conviction or were they based on thought-habits and prejudices.

BLACK GROUP

Blacks in their statements tended to identify with Blacks at a high level both in the AM and PM group discussions. The manner of their verbalizations were of note. During the AM group:

1) things were still being verified and validated between themselves--that this was indeed the kind of workshop it was said to be. Carried out in the usual coded language and behavior styles that says (primarily via non-verbal behavior and para language utterances to each Black - 'just checking'.
2) the language used was a coded form of expressiveness (less spontaneous); perceptions and agreed upon concepts were generally not stated fully or directly; not repeated or restructured; answers/responses were not given

immediately after questions or problems posed; fewer and less colorful metaphors were used; fewer instances of humor usage, few (if any) interruption of others, the absence of the 'call and response' feedback pattern until safety issues are settled; the feelings and their intensity was held in check - not fully or directly stated or emoted.

3) the 'caution statement' used language after several non-verbal expressions of it - this was expressed as concern for both one's psychological status as well as one's physical well being. These are potential costs to Blacks caught off guard and into a serious and overt defiance of racist authority (power differential). Penalty range from a battery of psychologically isolations and alienating mechanisms to full political and economic sanctions that destroys homes, careers and have led to lynchings and other more updated styles of death.

4) the 'caution statement' also served as an organizer for the rate and rhythm of verbalization. In discussion one it was controlled as was the frequency of gesticulation and para language utterances.

The not doings, absences, less than fully expressed, fewer this that and the other creates its own fragile feel and imagery. These communicative gaps and/or reduced content message segments

together create via a transcendant synthesis a clear caution statement until a group consensus is worked out and announded. It is not by accident that this is done via non-verbal behavior and para language utterances rather than specific language statements, by context more so then content for it makes this profoundly important individual and group survival mechanism available to each and every intelligent Black whether literate or not. It is both important and beautiful to note.

Anger and verbal aggressiveness were masked.

A major characteristic seemed that the group was basically subdued, 'laid back', dealing with issue but not too vigorously or openly.

WHITE GROUP

(and Whites in Mixed Group)

The group members were highly identified with White culture except for a small but significant segment that did empathize with Blacks. The other and larger number of White group members presented in the AM group discussion:

- clear identification with Whites
- support and acceptance of the White model of normal human relationships
- within its own group there were moves by the White males to control the discussion; this was also true in the mixed group
- the communication style was volitional and controlled
- verbalizations were generally analytical, linear in time flow and logic and of low-context.
- attribution, victim analysis, victim blaming statements as well as statements minimizing the victims (Blacks) state were characteristic. Generally, they stereotypically towed line of affirmation of White values and devaluation and stigmatization of Blacks and Black performance.
- showed minimal openness to forming interpersonal relationships within the group.
- racism was, by implication, an extension of the dominant culture and hence not an unduly complex matter as some would have you think.

- the acceptance of the dominant White group's philosophical, political, economic and social outlook and a polarized view on racism
- negative reaction to Black assertiveness
- indifferent reaction to Black obsequiousness
- the discussion -- as to whether its members dealt with the here and now or some other time, the white members dealt with the here and now, it seemed, out of the expectations and interventions of the facilitator. However, when left alone no single issue, episode, or time period was as important as the relevance of the phenomena to the situation in its totality.
- the level of inter-racial tension tended to be (by verbal admission) low; however, as soon as the existence of inequality was made clear as the prime issue this tension went up and remained there.
- most reactions of white members were stereotypic, generalized, confirmed White values and would (as normally) avoid confrontations with (their) racism.
- felt they tended to think things through (as they were taught) and, as a result, live according to (their) principles -- by implication, there were theoretical and moral justification for racism.

WHITES - PM

- Expressed shock, disbelief, anger
- began to distort and reinterpret the information presented
- expressed rationalizations masked in irrelevant statements and questions plus statements of social science which have been traditionally used to legitimize the inequality.
- altered states of consciousness emerged in several group members: internal scanning, shared memories, expanded consciousness.
- the sharp emergence of speech changes -- i.e., hesitancies, stuttering, contradictions, slips of the tongue.
- even further decrease of affective experience coupled with intensification of focus on detail especially technical detail.
- defensive condescension - even to the point of questioning the accuracy and veracity of the presenter
- increased denial, transformation, displacement, anxiety, anger, shame, guilt, rationalization, reaction formation and a curious increased suggestibility.
- opinionated, dogmatic and inflexible

MIXED GROUP

Basically, it showed a combination of the reactions and behaviors presented for the Black group and the White group. However, there were some significant differences. Fewer White males attended the mixed group. The reactions and behaviors in this group were more coded and cloaked in the AM discussion compared to the other two, yet in the PM discussion they were more open, mutual acknowledgement and recognition. Further, it seemed that those who chose the mixed group could be classified as having high self-esteem and confidence, high mobility aspirations and/or tended to be highly innovative.

BLACK GROUP PM

It was as if the lecture/slide presentation clarified the true nature of the workshop. The information added more roots to the ever present Black/White individual and intergroup role conflicts. This created increased anxiety and polarized the intragroup view on racism. The group reacted to the stress (and here is where clarity of the workshop's function was important) by increasing the group's cohesiveness through communication at increasingly deeper levels. The mode of expression became less coded.

The conflict/stress situation regarding this profoundly important psychological area for Blacks led to a rather clear expression of what I have termed as the predominant type of collective psychological functioning for Blacks -- the feeling type. This type of feeling is as rational and discriminating a function as thinking. From a Jungian

point of view: sensation is the function that tells us something exists; thinking is the function that tell us what that something is; feeling is the only means that enables us to make a value judgement the matter (do we like it or not; is it pleasing or not); intuition enables us to see the inherent possibilities in the object. These four types enable us to apprehend the world from a Jungian perspective. Feeling and thinking are opposing ways of evaluating an object -- thinking via principles of "true" and "false"; feeling via emotional responses, "pleasure" or "painful distress". Sensation and intuition are similarly opposing styles of irrational perception. Sensation being the reality function sensing objects by use of the sense organs; intuition unconsciously perceives the world via hunches and guesses. From a temporal orientation: feeling types relate largely to the past and time is circular. Thinking types relate to time linearly; sensation types, the present; inituitives, the future.

In discussion 2 the distinct differences between Blacks as feeling types collectively and Whites as thinking types collectively were clear. The past related to the present gave great continuity of perspective to the Black group's view. Feeling types, here using their capacity to recollect the past and its emotion and comparing it to the present were extremely skill at assessing the exact emotional tone of this discussion event and in deducing the relationships of those involved with them in it (and while so doing intensify the interpersonal atmosphere).

group boundaries.

In other words, the issue became one of Blackness: of Black self-development, of being oneself of Black solidarity, of full participation-of mental, physical and spiritual growth and development.

Not once was a violent approach suggested. It was speculatively felt that the information presented was highly relevant to that point. Group members did express an awareness that it was appropriate to be concerned about one's safety and to take the appropriate measures (i.e., measures that centuries of oppression had well taught us in regards to Whites). However, more importantly, was the turning to self and to each other. Why?

Many Blacks knew and most suspected that Whites were off balance in their living of life, <u>but</u> <u>now</u>, believable history has documented that the Whites have lied, are lying and will be in the future in regards to Blacks. History has shown that they are not Blacks' superiors but just another man or woman.

APPENDIX I

CONSULTANT'S REPORT NO. 3

APPENDIX I

February 5, 1980

Ms. Yolanda L. Jenkins
Research Associate
The Urban Institute for Human Services Inc.
1330 Gough Street
San Francisco, California 94109

Dear Ms. Jenkins:

Thank you for the opportunity to participate in Dr. Asa Hilliard's inter-ethnic relations study.

I found the task set out for me both very interesting and remarkably difficult. Below, I will layout those aspects of the task of particular interest and the difficulties I found in conforming with your request of me. In addition, I have included a summary of my notes while viewing each of the tapes; general comments about the study; and, finally, a summary of my clinical assessment.

All - Black Group
Morning Session:

This tape was characterized by a very rapid movement into numerous areas, all seemingly characterized by a tendency of the group to solidify in a consensus quickly and see the cause or the problem as totally outside of them.

The early attempt by the older Black male on right to make a distinction between himself and the other Blacks ("I'm Dutch Indian...") was quickly jumped on and criticizied. Most of the group appeared to need to deny differences.

Also in evidence early was the Black female attack of the "weak" Black male in the film - it almost seems as though some felt his weakness as a direct threat to them and their identity.

Next, the issue of culture vs. ethnicity was raised - this distinction was felt to lead to break up of the group. There was a need to avoid this - deny aspects of their different backgrounds. There appeared to be a need and desire to perceive the other Blacks in the film as defenders of them.

- Some discussion of racism and possible relationship to anger or threat. Direct vs. indirect expression of anger/my comment in notes was: "appears to be early group attempt to maintain cohesion and non-divisiveness."

- Comment on we, Blacks, being all the same - how are we going to react? Are we individuals? Or are we united and do we understand the strength we have got together?

- Where are the other Blacks (those outside room)? Why don't they back one another?

- The need for a place to return to - the security of the group frequently arises.

- Who keeps you honest?

This issue seems to quiet the group - Some suggestion of conflict about this issue/does one leave his roots, move on? One male speaks of the dream of new identity through on in college - does this mean leaving group behind? The group seems to feel this as possible threat.

- Blacks have roots - the church as basic institution. However, the strength of spiritual tie is vanishing - what will be there to fall back on when things get worse. Expression of idea of shame of aspects of background; Blacks deny some of these things, however speaker quickly indicates he is not asking for religious revival. This appeared to be significant attempt to broaden the religious connection to the cultural and move back to African roots.

- Male vs. Female issues seem significant: Males (#land2) on extreme left appear to try to dominate discussion - lecturing/preaching style.

- There is set of comments about "sissyism" - homosexuality amoung men (I presume) is seen as a loss to the group, as are drugs. Clearly here the homosexuality issue is preceived as a threat to the group strength. Women are angered by it, possibly feel it somewhat directly as a rejection of them, or more broadly as a betrayal of the cause.

Tape #2 - Still appears to be pre-slide show.

- Woman in center of table starts off with sense of pressure, also guilt and conflict around issue of does one contribute to society (Black) or does one struggle for self advancement.

- Male #3 on left immediately counters with the commitment to community. The need to put back into the community what you can offer. As he makes sales pitch, appears that real somberness in male and female immediately on his left.

Tape #2 - PM Session.

- One of first comments switches the group from their pleasure and surprise about some of the splendor and accomplishments of Blacks by the expression of surprise that "White dude could write really heavy material."

- Need for education both of children and older people. Also the expression of hope that if Blacks and Whites really knew where Blacks were from, then that may change things. This comment sounds sad - it is a hope without any clear sense of confidence or connection in idea.

- Scotty comments on heavy symbolism in Tut exhitit. This seems to derail group somewhat. The comments that immediately followed were hard for me to follow.

- Power of media - must be considered for future enormous potential influence.

- Exciting to see kids gain sense of African history.

- Asa further reenforces notion of delayed and heavy impact of material.

- Comment focused specifically on Jews - their control of American education. There is then a condemnation of own group (Blacks) for leaving most important things to outsiders "we get married, have children and then we turn our future (the children) over to teachers - the enemy."

- Idea that MD's, largely white, do hysterectomies on Blacks. Also issue was raised why Black women seem to prefer White Doctors.

- Elicits specific comments about too many people controlling Blacks' destiny. Need to wrest power and therby get control.

What you appear to have in this group is the fairly rapid obliteration of the recognition of difference within the group. There then seems to be a consolidated posture, led by some of the more vocal individuals, to get the group to recognize that Blacks are in a struggle for survival, and that no losses can be tolerated (to homosexuality, durgs, etc). Furthermore, the children are the main hope of the group and they should be cared for, protected, etc. A few in the group drift toward the need for vigilance, self-protection, the feeling that too many people (Whites) control the destiny of Blacks, etc. Group ends with comments about provision of own goods/services because if depend on enemy it will have a shaft. Control and power are the major issues for the speakers.

It was not clear how many ascribed to this view. However, since it was presented forcefully and near the end it's not surprising that it was not countered.

I think that the All-Black make up of the group facilitated the move to the clearly important issue of control/power and powerlessness. Also this homogeneity may have facilitated the sense of some group cohesion which developed and seemed to lead to racist comments about Jews and/or Whites. (according to your definition of racism, comments such as the above by the subordinated would be racist, I presume.)

Interracial Group - Morning Session:

In some ways the interracial group was the most interesting for me from a psychological-clinical perspective. This group appeared to show a high degree of interaction and some disagreement early among some of the members. Additionally, there were what appeared to be some fortuitous camera shots which caught some of the non-speakers in actions which may well have revealed negative attitudes toward the speaker - I am referring to (1) the young Black male, sitting next to the White male Vietnam veteran, who continuously seemed to be picking at his beard with a look of skepticism, possibly bordering on contempt, while the White male talked; and (2) the brief glimpse I got of the Black female in beaded braids who conspicously yawned while the older Black male spoke early on about how things have not really been changed by the civil rights movement. Whether these behaviors touch on racist attitudes is an open question; whether they even reveal negative attitudes is also unclear since there was almost no opportunity created for the tape viewers to isolate consistently on these or other individuals while others were speaking.

This session did appear to have a high degree of vocal activity and some differences of opinions early in the interaction.

- White Viet vet (W,V,V,) tried to dominate discussion at outset with lengthy remarks that were somewhat ambiguous, but the main theme was that changes have occured since the '60's.

- He is challenged quickly by older Black male (OBM) directly across table who says civil rights movement led to affirmative action and although this helped him get job, the only reason he got job was that the company had a quota to meet.

- Black female suggests that although there are changes socially, there have really been none economically.

- The facilitator (F) strikes me as overly active with this group, trying very hard to summarize and pull things together early on. This appears to be a significantly greater amount of activity on F's part than what was in evidence with All Black AM group.

- OBM states rather forcefully that Blacks in power are the worst enemy. A Black supervisor is generally so insecure that there is a great need to keep other Blacks down. There is some superficial agreement expressed to this comment. This is also a reflection of his insecurity, for he goes on to the notion that a new low group is coming into the country - the Vietnamese - and they will work for less, and therefore produce problems for Blacks.

- WVV makes mention of what to do - need to increase awareness (this worked for him), and change the educational experience of the child.

- Black male (not sure which one) emphasizes the history of Blacks, the fact that they were stripped of culture while other cultures were allowed to bring over and hold onto their own important cultural elements.

- F now leads group - will understanding culture and history have an effect? - even before group really has opportunity to develop this issue. F goes further and establishes that to educate children is important, but questions whether adult population is hopeless.

- Black female with beaded brades (BFB) points to all kinds of complex interactions between males and females, Blacks and Whites.

- OBM says now Whites have to deal with Black history; in past they have only dealt with Black male. This now becomes new and difficult problem for Whites.

(End of tape - begin tape #2 (appears to still be part of AM session).) (Early sense of tape: no effect of slide presentation apparent.)
Still emphasis upon children's need to have exposure - broadening of experience.

- Here cameraman (C) intrudes. Participants in group are at a loss as to how to deal with him and his comments. This intrusion quite disruptive, partly due, I think, to the fact that he speaks, thereby interfering with group's process of getting to know itself/its individual members; and partly due to the lack of clarity of his statements.

- Next are comments about riots as possibly only way change takes place, and that the riots are on the way. Then suggestion that although this is depressing assessment there may be other approaches for change.

- Is education a solution: Is it a way of creating a change? Will it lead to a better self-image for Blacks?

- Some find comfort in this notion - express hope that with education there will be no way employer can deny Blacks a job - comment by older Black female (OBF) next to OBM.

- OBM wonders what Blacks will do with education.

- BFB stresses essentialness of education, yet the institutions are racist and students are brain-washed.

- What's responsibility of educated Black? Either go back to the community or "take it to Charlie."

- F then summarises: reenforces emphases on education, particularly for the child; the need to emphasize culture, etc.

I am puzzled as to the purpose of the summary. It clearly appears to be telling the group what in fact has been important to F from the discussion, and what F may well like to see emphasized in the next session.

I am also unclear as to what subjects were told about the study? What they were told they would be shown? What the experimenters were looking for? etc. These are essential considerations for any study that seeks to assess the effects of the slide presentation on the group.

Interracial Group - Afternoon Session:

- Young White Male on right (YWM) who said nothing in AM as best I can recall, needs to immediately praise Asa for the presentation.

- I am concerned about Asa's presence again. In this group an enormous need present to praise presentation and Asa, who is F. How you assess effects of presentation accurately, when the F is person who created slide show and this is known to group, is very difficult to answer.

- Altered composition of group in afternoon. This is mistake for the group now has to adjust not only to change in facilitator but to new, Black female who tells group at start that she is someone who has been fired because she may have worn Blackness on her sleeve.

- What emerges is an overwhelming push within the group for agreement. There seems also to be a conspicuous avoidance of the issue of homosexuality in this group, possibly because of sense that Black male on left manifests a slight effeminacy (contrast this avoidance to the highly vocal denunciation of Black gays which occured in all Black group).

- It appears as though whatever the significant differences may have been among group members in AM (some of which got expressed), the PM session tended to obliterate differences; the group pushed hard for consensus, felt the need to praise F, and fully agreed with what the study in part, seeks to show. They expressed the idea that education is essential, and that the slide presentation is an excellent way to bring little known facts about Black-American and Black-African history to people, both Black and White.

All - White Group: N=10
Morning Session

Composition of group seems unblanced - looks like 9 females and 1 male - age range seems considerably greater than All-Black - two Asians (females) in group - why?

Initial effort appears to be attempt to deny that there are really differences in certain respects - melting pot notion leads to something far more complicated.

- Roots are important; there seems to be trend back to examination of cultural identity.

- What are you first? Are you identified by culture, ethnicity, American?

- #1 female on left (older White Female (50yrs)=OWF), If you really want to do something you will. The idea of <u>will</u> and its importance. She wondered whether still necessary to communicate.

- Facilitator (F) appears to need to defend groups - do we have prejudices?

- OWF: Individual self respect essential and highly personal - Issue is how much love is in our heart - "I don't notice color".

- Chinese Female (mid 30's) (CF) - Statesbrother married White girl; sister married Portuguese. "I'm prejudiced against my sister-in-law". Some confusion between "dislike" and "prejudged." "I'm also disturbed by my own race's reaction to my holding hands with a Black man."

- Japanese female (JF) Asks CF what about females? Are you prejudiced against female?

- Prejudices - do they mean "good" or "bad" stereotypes? Steroeotype is that Chinese kids are well-behaved and do well in school ect.

- A White female: glad to have opportunity to talk - most people feel it highly necessary to talk, to engage in these kinds of session.

- OWF: I assume people here are all one class. I thought we'd just be talking to ourselves like my daughter and her radical friends - ten of them tell each other what they already know.

- Group begins to get to complexities - sense of differences, and admiration of these differences.

  - Female - center of table comments that her husband, a comic, is a "stone" racist from St Louis.

  - Does the admiration of differences Whites feel from Blacks derive from a feeling of alienation from Blacks?

  - OWF distinguishes between laughing at vs. laughing with.

- #2 Female on left: people don't really know others. Not sure what provoked comment - she'd been extremely quiet after initial participation. She seems different from others - possibly more sheltered life. Speaks of need to live - have experiences.

- "Preoccupation" with the lives of others. The lower economic level experience was sought out - not necessarily the racial (Black) experience. Further attempt to make distinctions.

Reel #2 All White (still appears to be AM session)

This group appears to have a greater willingness to share experiences than All-Black, and the interracial group. May well be that Libby was exceptional catalyst, pushing group in this direction by her example of openness.

- OWF (Libby) - Comments things haven't changed much; discusses her priviledged background. Whole experience too overwhelming. No question that Blacks have to go back; they really do remember what it was like; however, they don't feel they need to go back.

- Teacher #1 - effects of competition and economics are enormous. These tend to lead to class bias. How far do you need to go to make changes?

- F presents a comprehensive summary of the manifest content:
  1. Black vs. White sexual issues.
  2. Self acceptance is important for accepting others.

3. Need to admit one's own prejudices.

4. Education essential - gain sense of different cultures - broadening experience.

5. Living together - sexual, social, educational.

6. Class perspective is important - economic conditons are critical factor.

Start of PM Session: Asa as facilitator:

#2 female left - expresses unawareness that she knows very little

#3 Dutch female - was there a conspiracy on the part of Europeans to suppress African history?

#2 - How do you deal with conspiracy? How unconscious a process is prejudice as a whole?

#1 Libby - Broadens prejudice issue from Blacks to many others

#7 Teacher (I think) - power is the issue. "Mau mauing" of the sixties, the need to threaten and the need to take power.

Group agrees that disagreement is important and necessary. Comments about ways artifacts of culture were split-off from the "culture" people carried with them. Fear and hate given as reason for depriving Blacks of aspects of their culture. Also ignorance and alienation as key missing elements. Need for group security important.

- F asks about slide presentation. Attempts to lead group to specific comments. Various kinds of comments: testamonials, confessions, well integrated revelations. They seem to be responding with what they think Asa wants to hear.

- Do agree that slide show can speak to richness of culture.

- There is real need to broaden oneself through travel, study, etc.

- Show frees one's mind; also prepares one so not caught off guard.

- A form of repair of belief system.

Some general comments:

(1) Viewing The Tapes:

This alone is an enormously difficult task. I experienced frequent frustration with the quality of the tapes. They were often blurred or out of focus, the camera was often not on the speakers yet also not emphasizing possible, particularly significant non-verbal reactions of the non-speakers in the group.

I firmly believe that the behaviors that may manifest racist attitudes are almost always subtle, elusive, and often momentary. The tapes do not give the observer the opportunity to see these possible behaviors.

Furthermore, it might be helpful if a limit were set on how much viewing you will allow an observer to do in a given day. I found myself absolutely exhausted by the experience of doing two-thirds of the viewing in a single 7-hour day.

(2) Group Composition:

There is no question that the composition of each group with respect to attitudes expressed is relatively homogeneous, even when the backgrounds of the individuals appear to be quite varied. (Later I shall address the issue of the clear push towards expression of consensus viewpoints that seemed evident in each of the groups in each session.) I wonder what attempt was made to gain a relativity random selection of participants with regard to the variables considered most essential to the study? For example (1) the "Black group" composition although appearing to range in age from approximately early twenties into the late forties, was clearly solidly liberal-to-radical; (2) the "all White" group is certainly peculiarly labled. There were two Asians, a Japanese (I belive) woman in her late 20's who said almost nothing on the tapes, to the best of my recollection, and the other, a first generation Chinese woman. The only statements I recall from her related to the intermarriage of her siblings to non-Chinese and her resulting "prejudices." Whether it is the result of cultural and/or racial differences, these two woman appeared to be about the least vocal in the group. One might entertain the hypothesis that the greater the apparent homogeneity of the group the more likely the members are to manifest racist attitudes towards individuals or groups not present. Under such circumstances, the inclusion of the two Asians in the All-White group would be likely to reduce the expression of racist attitudes.

Finally, the different N's for the groups may well be an additional problem in analyzing the data of the group interaction. Clinical group work over the past 40 years has emphasized the N as a significant factor in the nature of the interactions that occur. There is an enormous difference to the "feel" of a group if N=8 (AM "mixed") and N=13 (all Black).

(3) Observers, etc:

The participation by some observers (Scotty, for one), and the cameraman, can only create "noise" in the study. (I found myself agreeing with Scotty's remarks, but distracted by his interruptions.) The cameraman's remarks were disorienting and intrusive. They appeared to be distracting to a number of the group members. For future work, I think significant effort should be made to standardize the discussion setting, the observers, the flow of "others" in and out of the room, etc. Additionally, the video taping might have been done through a one-way screen in an effort to remove both the cameras and cameramen from the setting. Finally, the use of at least two cameras, with cameramen not only skilled, but knowledgeable in the important behaviors upon which to focus would be helpful. Too often the camera was focused on what appeared to be unsignificant behaviors.

(4) The Facilitators:

Although I was actively attending to their actions throughout, it certainly appeared to me that both the amount of facilitating, leading, and guiding done by both the AM and PM facilitators in the all-Black group was far less than that done by either of them in the other groups. Also, by having Asa participate as facilitator after the groups had seen his slide program, you may well have decreased the likelihood that there would be expressions of disagreement with the facts presented, or more spontaneous reactions, and increased the tendency of the group to focus more on praising the presentation. Clearly the impact of the presentation on many was quite powerful.

Summary and Conclusions:

Differences and similarities between three groups

1. The push toward concensus of beliefs, and expression of ideas was extremely strong in all three groups. Particularly striking were the unspoken assumptions of the All-Black group. This group seemed to gain consensus quickly, in a kind of short-hand style, and then appeared to move forward quickly with their discussion. In this group (All Black) it appeared as though the facilitators were far less active in pushing for a consensus than in the other two, maybe due to the movement of the group, and/or possibly tied to the fact of racial similarity of group and facilitators.

The All-Black group seemed to be rather intolerant of the attempts of at least one of the members (the Dutch Indian) to emphasize his differences from the group. One seemed pressured to declare whether he were with the rapidly emerging consesus or against it. No one was willing to stand against the tide, though some of the agreement with the conclusions seemed to be more acquiescence than full agreement, at times.

2. There is no doubt in my mind that the slide presentation had a strong impact on each of the groups. The ability to test this, however, is not really present, due to the confounding factors of the behavior of both AM and PM facilitators apparently leading the group to highlight certain concepts; and the fact that Asa was the creator of the presentation and at least part of each of the groups knew that to be the case. The latter seemed to pull the groups to praise the presentation without full awareness of their need to praise the leader. This was done for Asa's sake, at the expense of more direct and spontaneous reactions to the presentation and its impact.

3. According to your theoretical model, racist behavior is reduced when legitimation is balanced or moves toward the balance point. The general impression I came away with, from all groups, was that movement took place in each group toward additional respect shown by Blacks and Whites for Blacks' cultural and historical heritage post slide presentation. This was manifested in numerous comments of suprise, wonder, and pride, etc., concerning the data presented about Blacks. This conclusion could suggest that there was visible evidence of racism in the morning group or groups. This was not the case from my perspective. There were differences of opinion expressed by various members in each of the morning groups, however I can not call these verbal behaviors truly racist. They were not rigidly adhered to. For those who at least entered into a dialogue, there seemed to be sufficient openness to examine somewhat divergent view points and then shift toward the group consensus. (This excludes the Chinese woman in the "All-White" group who blatently admitted her prejudices against a couple of groups; she said no more after this, and the group did not wish to challange her statements. This appeared to be a somewhat protective posture of the group, seemingly designed to avoid conflict.)

4. Related to the push for consensus in the groups, yet a separate issue, is the <u>avoidance of any direct and open conflict</u>. I kept wondering whether the more vocal, younger Blacks in the All-Black group would have been equally vocal in the interracial group. I think not. I think there was a pressure in the interracial group to avoid direct confrontation. There was clearly dramatic movement by the All-Black

group toward a threatened position and the extreme need for self-protection. This theme did not get expressed clearly in the other groups.

Please let me know if there are questions you have regarding my report, or if there are issues I might elaborate further upon. I would be happy to talk further with you.

Additionally, I would very much like to see a copy of the report you are compiling for ONR in the study.

Thanks again for the opportunity to participate.

Sincerely yours,

APPENDIX J

CONSULTANT'S REPORT NO. 4

APPENDIX J

Anthropological Analysis

It seems appropriate to begin this analysis, from an anthropological perspective, of the videotapes of the interethnic relations workshops with a general statement concerning the structuring of the workshops. The selection of the film on prejudice for the morning workshop and the slide presentation on an analysis of African history from a non-Eurocentric perspective for the afternoon was very astute since the former raised the issue of individual racist attitudes, prejudices and interactions, and the latter brought to light and challenged one aspect of institutionalized group racism -- the reinterpretation of Africa's role in world history to justify the existence of racist social systems.

The astute choice of stimuli was apparently designed to promote a discussion in the morning of individual attitudes and behaviors and how they might be modified, and to reveal to the afternoon group the extremes to which institutional racism can go and to promote a discussion of both the effect of this new information and to elicit the group's ideas about the implications of this phenomenon as well as about what effect the revelation of this knowledge could have on individual and group behavior.

Thus it was possible to observe the reactions of the participants in the different groups to an aspect of the same problem when it was

presented as an individual issue, and where they might feel inclined to give more personal responses, as well as to the same issue when presented in its more global aspects, which solicited responses from the participants, but as representatives of their ethnic groupings.

It was instructive to be able to observe both individual reactions and the style of group interaction of the three groups in response to the stimuli presentive in different levels of discussion of the basic issue. During the afternoon session -- the slide presentation -- the human dynamics of the Black members of the interracial group approximated those of the all-Black group, and although those of the white members also seemed similar to those of the White group, their number was too small to make any firm statement.

The composition of the interracial and the white groups was not exactly as might have been anticipated. I assume that a deliberate effort was made for the sake of the study to balance the groups sexually and to balance the interracial group ethnically, and that the imbalances occurred because some people failed to attend. Whereas the all-Black group which showed the greatest interest and involvement in the discussions, was balanced in numbers of male and female members, the white group was predominantly female, having only one male participant. Since most of the participants in the white group did not seem overwhelmingly concerned by or interested in the topic of interethnic relations or what could be done on a pragmatic group level to improve them, and since one woman

indicated that the $25 honorarium was the main reason for her presence, one might wonder if the absence of males suggests that the men preferred to tend to more pressing concerns whereas the women who attended, none of whom identified themselves as having more important preoccupations, and some of whom indicated that they attended discussion sessions with some frequency apparently felt that the discussion itself actually constituted constructive action.

The comment was made by a participant in the white group that it was a good idea to have an all white and an all Black group so that the individuals involved would feel comfortable and be able to express themselves openly and honestly. The remark is particularly interesting since, unlike the Black group, which was all Black, the White group included two Asians and the facilitator was Black. One can only wonder if the commentator meant that since the discussion concentrated on prejudice of whites against Blacks, she considered the Asians to be of the same mind as the Whites and thus as honorary Whites for the occassion, the facilitator was perhaps forgotten. One of the Asians never spoke, but the other made a very useful contribution in the morning session by being first to acknowledge her experiences with racial prejudice and by challenging the other participants, who until then had not admitted to having any, to avow their prejudices. Perhaps had the facilitator not been present the White group members might have been more willing to admit their prejudices.

I will begin with a brief description of those aspects of the structure, content and dynamics of the different workshops, in the order viewed, as they appeared to an observer with anthropological training. I should begin by noting that in general the differences in perspectives between Blacks and Whites were stark whether they were in the interracial or the single ethnic groups. The items selected for discussion and the ways in which they were discussed and the concensus concerning them varied almost predictably on racial lines. Also the difference in interactional style based on the cultural differences between Blacks and Whites was extremely marked. The changes in the interactional dynamics of the Black members of the interracial group demonstrated one way in which many bicultural Black people adjust their interactional style to the nature of the social environment, depending upon whether it is mono- or polycultural. Their morning interaction was adapted to the interracial nature of the group, whereas their afternoon behavior reflected the fact that the Blacks only interacted with each other since the Whites did not participate. The behavior of the Whites appeared to reflect the mono-cultural nature of their social group in that the Whites in the interracial group manifested only the single behavioral style of the Whites in the single-ethnic group. However, this point can not be asserted too strongly given the small number and the limited participation of the Whites in the interracial group.

Black Group - Morning

The Black group focused on the racial attitudes of those individuals in the film who apparently expressed their positions most clearly. A general feeling about the ten year old film was that the racial prejudices expressed in the film had not improved in the interviewing decade, and had perhaps gotten worse. The group briefly mentioned the position of the Japanese male that just as the Japanese had succeeded on their own in American society, Blacks should be able to do the same. One participant's response to this attitude was that Blacks should not trade with groups with negative attitudes toward them, e.g. not frequent Japanese restaurants. Another participant said that the racial attitude of the Japanese was more white than that expressed by the whites. However, the general consensus was that at least the Japanese person was honest about his racism whereas the whites in the film did not want to admit theirs.

The individual about whom the most comments were made was the most outstanding Black participant -- and noticeably the only person in the film ever mentioned by name by any group. He was characterized as the strongest character in the film, and as the only person willing to identify his attitudes and prejudices openly. It was noted that rather than divulging their own prejudices, a number of the whites attacked Gil, who, it was suggested, was secure enough in himself and in his opinions, so as not to be upset by the attacks. Apparently, one of the people in the film commented that Gil was the first articulate Black person he had ever met. When this comment was brought up the

members of the Black group laughed cynically.

In contrast to these strong positive opinions of Gil as a person, one participant said that he did not remember even one individual white person in the film since the whites expressed no strong beliefs, not wanting to say what they really felt. The group agreed that whereas Blacks were more inclined to express their true feelings honestly, whites were more "diplomatic" and less honest. It was, however, noted by one person that when the whites in the film made comments, they identified themselves as members of such specific subgroups as Christians, Jews, etc.

The females in the group particularly commented about the interracial couple, especially the male. Neither partner contributed much to the discussion. The Black male was rather derrogatorily described as manifesting a permanent smile and as agreeing to everything said by others. His body language was interpreted as indicating that he was embarrassed. It was suggested by one member of the group and assented to by others, that the male probably felt marginal, and that each partner was probably afraid to express any racial attitudes for fear of revealing feelings that might reflect on his/her partner.

The other individual who was discussed was a Black female whom group members characterized as "colored" and as thinking she was white. She was characterized as having problems and as being unrealistic, and the statement was made that she should know who she was, and that she should be happy to be Black. It was added, however, that it was perhaps too late for her to change her sense of identity. It was also noted

that whereas Gil used the term Black, she used the term Negro, which further indicated her alienation.

At this point the discussion moved away from the film and began to focus on more general problems facing Black people. The turning point came when, in response to the statement about the use of the terms Black and Negro, one participant said that the change in linguistic symbols was important as were other symbolic expressions of Blackness, but that it was more important for Black people to concentrate on taking pragmatic steps to control and improve their lives. From this point the discussion focused exclusively on issues concerning the dynamics of intra-Black relationships, the larger context of the place of Blacks in American society forming the tacit backdrop.

Much emphasis was given to the fact that Blacks needed to practice more co-operation, especially in the economic realm, in order to increase their self-sufficiency and degree of self-determination in a society dominated by others. Part of this discussion included some analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of Black institutions, such as the church, in contributing to the progress of Black people. Within this context it was agreed that whatever the weaknesses of the Black church, it was a guardian of those spiritual values that Black people should concentrate on maintaining and of the spiritual strength that had helped Blacks to survive.

Within the realm of this topic there was much criticism of the Black upper middle class, the members of which were characterized as obtaining education and skills that could help the Black community as

a whole, and then not using their abilities in the interest of the larger group. The term "upper middle class" appeared to be being used less as a purely economic category than to describe the complacent, alienated perspective of those Black people who tried to separate themselves from Black realities and who acted as if Blacks as a group no longer suffered from the racism of the larger society, and thus no longer needed to work together. The experience of a college education in a very white environment was seen as possibly contributing to this form of Black alienation. The comment was made that events such as the Baake decision and the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan should indicate to such Black people that there are still unresolved problems that affect them as well as other less economically well-off Blacks. Such Blacks were characterized as not honest to the extent that they did not acknowledge reality and work to fulfill their responsibilities. It was suggested that there should be more interaction between Black college students and members of less affluent Black communities so that the former could maintain contact with reality while using the skills they were acquiring to help the latter. When a Black student expressed her feelings of frustration that college seemed irrelevant to what she saw as very real community problems, a man who lived and worked in a Black community encouraged her by saying that she could be useful in different ways at different times, and should try to see what she could do in her present capacity, one very positive current function being to serve as a positive example for younger Blacks to emulate.

The human dynamics of the Black morning group were quite striking in comparison to those of the other groups. There was no suggestion from their behavior that the people in the group had known each other prior to the workshop, yet they developed an immediate sense of rapport and community and a warm, supportive atmosphere. The bodily position of the participants suggested a relaxed, yet interested, involved and alert attitude. There was also much verbal support of each other. There seemed to exist spontaneously an agreement about definitions, self-identification, and a sense of priorities. This sense of community was evident in the body language of the participants as well as in what was said. There seemed to be many more participants in the all Black group than in either of the others but the actual numbers indicate that this was just an impression since there were only three people more than in the white group and four more than in the interracial group. In the Black group, people were sitting closer together than in the other groups, and it appeared that everyone participated in the discussion at some point in the discussion.

I have indicated that the group "agreed" on a number of points. Evidence of this agreement took the form of verbal cues from the participants in response to the speakers' statements. Statements considered positive were received with enthusiastic "um hmm's", very much in the call and response pattern typical of much Black social interaction. This interactional style allows for more or less active participation by all present since one may participate either by speaking or by responding in agreement with the speaker.

It was interesting that the topic of racial prejudice itself was not the major topic of discussion, in spite of the stimulus of the film. The expressed racial prejudice of the Japanese male in the film was mentioned, but the meaning of his individual prejudice was immediately generalized to the societal level. Black people as a group should not interact on an economic level with those groups that have prejudices against them.

Gil's openness about his racial prejudice was approved. The statement that at least he was secure enough to be honest, and the contrasting statements about the white participants' attacking him rather than acknowledging their own prejudices indicate that the group assumed the existence of racial prejudices as a given. They appeared to assume that the white participants had racial prejudices that they were unwilling to admit.

The lack of concern with individual prejudice, however, and the nature of the discussion provoked by the topic suggests that they did not consider individual prejudices a major issue or preoccupation. The general concensus seemed to be that individual prejudices were a result of the larger issue of institutional racism, which was much more important. It was thus this issue although never specifically stated that appeared to provide the context of discussion of the other topics: the sense of Black identity, the necessity for Blacks to work together for greater economic autonomy, and the alienation of upper middle class Blacks. The issue of the racism of the larger society tended to be raised with a tone of rather humorous cynicism, as evidenced

by the statement that it was "against the law for Black people to make it."

The general orientation of the group thus was a sense of identification with the larger Black community, with its culture and interests. It is quite possible that all of the individuals present did not share exactly the same opinions and perspectives concerning their own position in the Black community, e.g., some may have identified themselves with the Black female whose sense of self was so severely criticized, and some may have been pleased to be able to say they were part of the Black upper middle class. However, the set of values developed by the group affirmed the sense of identification with the larger Black community.

Black Group - Afternoon

The major reaction to the slide show was that it revealed not just that Black history had been falsified and mistaught, a fact that did not seem to surprise anyone, but rather the amazing lengths to which Euroamerican society had gone to create a false negative image of Black history in order to support Euroamerican ethnocentrism and the present racial power relationship. The participants indicated that of course they were aware that racism was rampant, but that they had not been aware of how deeply entrenched it was, to the point of denying the true role of Black people in world history. They felt that contrary to the slave history that they had been taught, the history presented in the slide show provided positive mental and spiritual perspectives, thus contributing to a greater sense of Black

individual selfhood and group unity. Some participants indicated that the King Tut exhibit would have a different meaning for them now that they knew its relationship to their own history. One person suggested that in addition to helping Black people feel more positive about themselves, and thus more motivated, perhaps learning the truth about the history of Black people would help to change the negative racist attitudes that Whites have toward Blacks. Thus, the issue was raised of how to share the information transmitted in the slide show with more people, with those older people who had been taught lies and with children who could grow up knowing the truth and behave accordingly. The idea was expressed that it would be nice to see programs such as the slide show on television. However, as in the morning, the realities of the racist nature of the society were raised with the same sense of humorous cynicism, to indicate why Black people really could not expect such information to be transmitted by the mass media -- "We know what to expect from the media."

As in the morning, the direction of the discussion then moved from the specific stimulus of the meaning of the slide show to the pragmatic issues of what Black people should and could do in relationship to the revelations of the slide show. The general conclusions were that Blacks should get more involved in the media since the media are a powerful factor in defining reality, and that Blacks needed to use their own resources to control their own educational process rather than leaving it in the hands of someone else. There was a clear acknowledgement and understanding that those people who had falsified

history had done so to create a certain image of themselves as compared to Blacks supporting the prevailing status quo, and had an obvious interest in perpetuating the situation. Hence, given this understanding, the contradiction of allowing the education of Black children to be in the hands of the falsifiers of their history becomes obvious. The solution -- Blacks need to control their own institutions.

Again as in the morning the group evidenced a very real sense of community, and common understanding -- and again the call and response style allowed for the participation of all. Whereas the morning group was very dynamic and involved in the discussion, having few interventions from the coordinator, in the afternoon the coordinator's role was even less necessary to keep the discussion going. His only intervention was to add interesting information relative to receptivity to the slide show and to the accessibility of similar information.

It was striking that the members of the Black group accepted the slide show as the revelation of the truth, and as further proof of the racism of white society that they already assumed as a given. They were thus not really shocked at the fact of the falsification of their history, but rather at the degree of falsification and the completeness with which the truth had been hidden from them. They, however, fully understood and acknowledged the reasoning behind such intellectual gymnastics and the individual and collective effects the results had on both blacks and whites in justifying and reinforcing the place of each in the larger society. For this group the slide show provided further proof of the deliberate

miseducation of Blacks that they understood to be an integral part of the larger racist schema.

White Group - Morning

In describing the nature of the discussion of the film and later of the slide show by the white group, it will be instructive to make comparisons and contrasts with the Black group as relevant points came up. The first comment that was made about the film was that the participants were so homogeneous, and all from similar backgrounds. "Even the three Black participants" were from the same types of families as the whites, -- as if it were reasonable for the whites to be from similar type family backgrounds but not for the Blacks. It is striking, in contrast, that the members of the Black group were specifically aware of the differences between the three Black participants recognizing them as having racial orientations very different from each other. They also noted the position of the Asian, although the Black group, like the white, also did not find any notable differences between the whites in the film. Again, Gil was the only individual mentioned by name. However, the evaluation of him was different. He was characterized as "painfully" honest, which was why people reacted, and he was said to have put the others on the defensive. These evaluations of him contrasted with those of the Black group. While still acknowledged, apparently as the strongest figure, his honesty that was praised by the Blacks was seen as aggressive by the whites -- as if he should have not told the truth about his racial

attitudes, apparently like the whites. Whereas the white participant saw him as being attacked by the whites in the film. It appears that the whites in the discussion group concurred, thus, with the Black group's evaluation of the white attitude toward revealing their prejudices -- with diplomacy rather than openly and honestly.

One white woman, who said she had been active in the civil rights movement, voiced the same opinion as the Black group that the racial situation had not changed in the decade since the film was made. Another woman said, however, that she felt that things had changed to the extent that whites were now aware of their prejudices and that dialogue was now possible concerning the issue. The only male present indicated that there was no excuse for people with such fine institutional training as the people in the film to be so ignorant of their own attitudes as not to be aware of their own prejudices. However, he further added that such a separation of intellect and emotion was a common result of university training. He also suggested that perhaps they were not from multi-cultural backgrounds, because if they were they would have had to deal with their interactions with and attitudes toward other ethnic groups during the process of growing up. The response was made, however, that there are few truly multi-cultural environments, and that although the environment could be encouraging for the children to develop positive attitudes toward each other, it was also possible that the influence of their parents' attitudes prevented the formation of positive dispositions toward each other. Some doubt was expressed that the kind of multi-cultural interaction

that could be enforced in school settings tended to naturally carry over to real everyday life.

One woman indicated, and others agreed, that the way to eliminate prejudice was for each individual to accept him/herself first, and from that point to accept others' differences, and to learn from these differences rather than being in competition with each other. Each person should know and be proud of his/her cultural origins, all of which form a larger whole. The point was made that all groups have in common the fact of being human beings, and all the other characteristics that makes groups differ are secondary. The male cited the example of Jews, among whom exists the question of what should be their primary sense of identity, but he noted that with Blacks the nature of epidermic visual input determines the priorities of identification and self-identification. Ironically, he cited Brazil as a beautiful society because it is a racial melting pot -- without knowing, perhaps, of the extremely close correlation in Brazil between skin color and wealth or poverty.

The woman who said she had been active in the civil rights movement, and who spoke at length of her experiences in becoming accepted by Blacks in the Fillmore, said that if an individual really wanted to communicate with and be accepted by another group, this could be done by being sensitive and identifying with the other group. This statement is very interesting since it can apparently only be a one way process in terms of the power relations of the social structure. She, as a relatively affluent white person, felt that she had been

accepted by members of the Black community because of their perception of her sensitivity to and empathy with their problems. While certainly not denying the intrinsic positive value of wanting to and of making the effort to get to know the people and the culture of other human groups, it is important to comment that the process she describes here is inherently inequalitarian because it cannot be reciprocal. Whereas people of a more powerful group can get themselves accepted by the less powerful by empathizing with them, trying to understand them, and maybe even helping them, members of the less powerful group do not have the same access to acceptance by the more powerful group. The only possible means of acceptance for the less powerful by the more powerful, which are often not available at all, tend to usually involve denial of their own cultural identity by the less powerful in an attempt to subserviently assimilate the culture of the more powerful, in order to be accepted on the latter's terms. This upper middle class white woman had much more freedom to impose her presence on the residents of the Fillmore to satisfy her desire to get to know them than a resident of the Fillmore would have in imposing him/herself on this woman's upper middle class white community that the Fillmore resident might want to have the privilege of getting to know.

On the basis, apparently, of the rather general acknowledgement in the group that racial prejudice still existed, the coordinator asked what the participants thought could be done in terms of concrete action to remedy the situation. In response, the woman who had first suggested that the solution to racial prejudice was to begin by

knowing and accepting oneself, reiterated this point, adding that she did not particularly notice the colors of people's skins, and indicating that she had been in a work situation for some time before noticing that she was the only white person among a group of Blacks with whom her rapport was very good. The important factor was how much love people had in their hearts for each other.

It is interesting to notice that this position is rather contradictory. If each individual knows and accepts him/herself and his/her culture, and if on this basis people of different groups should accept and learn from each other's differences, the fact of not noticing these differences becomes a contradiction. The differences must be noticed, acknowledged and appreciated if the statement of theory is to be translated into real life behavior. Thus rather than not noticing the difference between herself and her colleagues, this woman, to be consistent with her stated philosophy, should have perceived the difference and learned something from this intercultural experience.

To return to the issue raised by the facilitator of what concrete action could be taken, two people criticized the perspective of the woman who advised the acceptance of self and others by indicating that the love one had in one's heart, and one's sense of liberality were irrelevant as long as economic and racial inequities were perpetuated. However, although acknowledging the institutional nature of the problem as much more important than the problem of personal feelings, neither went beyond the acknowledgement of the situation to give a pragmatic response to the question concerning concrete action to promote

change. One of these women eventually said that she thought that discussions such as the one they were having constituted one form of concrete action. Another person indicated that another form of concrete action was for each individual to constantly check his/her person orientation rather than just assuming him/herself to be liberal.

One woman said that she thought that much of the problem stemmed from a lack of awareness of other cultures and that there should be more education about different cultures. She added that people were nervous about people from other cultures because they did not know them well enough to feel comfortable with them. Perhaps exposure from childhood via multi-cultural education would remedy the situation. It was interesting that the Black group did not perceive the issue of racial prejudice to be based on cultural unawareness, but rather on deliberate manipulation to maintain power relationships.

The only mention of the prejudices of the participants, in response to the facilitator's question finally came when one of the Asian women said firmly that she had prejudices and she believed the other people at the table also did. In addition to mentioning a prejudice of hers, and asserting that prejudice could exist even once one knew a person, she told of an experience in which she had deliberately tested the racial prejudice of her own people. A European woman who denied sharing any American racial attitudes since she had not grown up in the states, and who had earlier acknowledged a prejudice against fat people briefly raised the issue of positive prejudice, like the idea that Chinese children are smart, from which

ensued a brief talk about the difference between prejudices and stereotypes.

Two women admitted to having prejudices, one mentioning the serious problem she had of the extreme denial of her prejudice. Another said she had prejudices but did not like to admit them and was good at hiding them. As a matter of fact she used to think she had none. She characterized her prejudice as different from those expressed in the film, and seemed inclined not to elaborate until the facilitator asked her to share her attitudes with the group. She said that her prejudices stemmed from the process of "reverse discrimination" in which she said that Blacks, and especially Black women and Chicanas were chosen for employment because of their ethnicity. When asked by another woman if she also resented preferential hiring for women she said that she was a feminist, so that she agreed that preference should be given women. She acknowledged that she was in conflict with herself since she should consider Black women and Chicanas within the realm of her feminist perspective but did not.

One of the women in the group said that she felt that a sense of humor and the ability to joke about ethnic differences was important and gave a long description of her husband, whom she characterized as a real honest racist, who had had lots of experience with different ethnic groups. However, he did imitations of Black speech styles that she said were so well done that even their Black friends liked them. Her analysis of his behavior was that in spite of his racism, his imitations represented a subtle recognition of his admiration for

aspects of Black culture. What she liked about the sense of ethnicity of the 1970's that was not possible in the 1960's was the ability to joke about ethnic issues. She then indicated that the program Amos and Andy was taken off the air because "it was supposed to be demeaning". The white woman with civil rights experience asked how whites would feel to have Blacks imitating them for the purpose of entertainment. The point was also made that it was necessary to distinguish ethnic jokes from racial slurs.

It does seem highly improbable that Blacks would appreciate being mimicked by an avowedly racist white, no matter how technically accurate the rendition. It is also much less farfetched and more straightforward to interpret his behavior as an indication of his disdain for Blacks, in treating them as objects to be imitated since he did not like them as people with whom to interact, rather than as a subtle appreciation for the beauty of Black culture.

The differences in human dynamics and in perspectives between the white group and the black group were suprisingly marked. The stark contrasts suggest that there are clear cultural reasons for difficulties in communications between Blacks and Whites, and also suggest the unrealistic nature of the claim of not noticing the differences between groups. On the contrary, these obvious differences support the idea of wanting to understand and learn from other groups. Unlike the Black group, in the white group no sense of community or of commonality either existed spontaneously or developed as the discussion progressed. There was none of the

sense of group consensus that existed in the Black group and as was expressed there verbally and in body language. On the contrary, in the white group each individual remained a separate entity. People were sitting farther apart than in the Black group, and some of those who were sitting next to each other sat so that their backs were angled toward their neighbors. This social disparateness made the differences in degrees of participation very obvious. A number of people looked quite bored. They were sitting with their chins propped on their hands with bored facial expressions. And the very animated comments, for example, of the woman who had been in the civil rights movement, elicited absolutely no response from the others. In contrast to the situation in the Black group, here the facilitator intervened frequently with specific questions because the discussion died periodically. It appeared that a good number of the participants did not seem vitally interested in the topic, and one woman said her motive for being there was the $25 honorarium. It was also she who made light of a number of topics brought up.

Whereas the members of the Black group gave encouragement and concerned advice based on personal experience, the white group indulged in no such positive personal interaction. The Blacks cited personal experiences as examples of communal issues, whereas the personal experiences cited by the whites served to further set them off from each other as individuals rather than establishing any sense of commonality among them. In this vein, the comments on the experiences of others were antagonistic rather than supportive. The

The woman who discussed her racist husband's imitations of Blacks was criticized, probably rightfully, for her insensitivity to how Blacks might feel about such imitation.

In addition, the woman who told of her varied experiences with the Black community was sharply criticized for being "masochistic" in making such an effort to get to know a segment of the society that some would characterize as undesirable. The issue, of course, does arise as to why this woman who described herself as upper middle class would want to make as much of an effort as she described to gain entry to a socio-cultural network so different from her own. It was not evident from what she said that this experience was part of her civil rights activity, and consequently, it could be construed as seeking an adventure in an exotic subculture. She said that she felt privileged to be able to share someone else's lifestyle, which evidences a praiseworthy desire to want to understand others. However, the possibility also exists of objectifying the members of this exotic subculture as the props for an unusual adventure that could be terminated at will by the adventure seeker by returning to her upper middle class white environment to which the members of the exotic subculture could not follow in order to in turn have an exotic experience in her subculture. There is much to say for the idea of the individual's making an effort to get to know and appreciate another culture, although if the goal is only ones personal satisfaction, it is not apparent that the benefit is other than unilateral, and so not particularly in the interest of the oppressed group.

The one suggestion that the whites had something in common in terms of a similar class background was rejected. The sense of class identification of the whites and of the Blacks was interestingly diametrically opposed, although the actual socio-economic status of the participants in both groups was probably closer. The white woman who raised the issue said she assumed that the whites were all members of the upper middle class. The Blacks, on the contrary, identified with "the community" and rejected the values of the Black upper middle class. Further interesting, however, was the white stereotype of Blacks, whom they seemed to see as the antithesis of themselves. When the woman who had been in the civil rights movement talked of being accepted by the Black community, she characterized the segment of the community to which she related as primarily composed of pimps and prostitutes. In contrast, when the Blacks talked of the Black community, their definition of the composition of the community was hard working people struggling and dealing with real problems.

Thus, even the self definitions of the two groups was different. It is interesting that the Whites should have failed to think in terms of relating to the Blacks most similar to themselves in socio-economic status and culture, rather than focusing on those who they saw as most different. Focusing on such apparent differences rather than similarities smacks of unreflective stereotyping and also justifies one's lack of desire and success in relating to people who are assumed to be so different.

A most striking difference between the Black and White groups was the relative emphasis on the individual versus the group. Whereas the focus of the Black group was on the institutionalized nature of racism and interethnic prejudice, and on the fact that both the aggressors and the victims were groups, and thus group solutions were in order, the White group focused on the issue of personal prejudice and individual solutions to their own feelings. Whereas Blacks reacted to the film by discussing societal dynamics, the Whites discussed the question of prejudice as an intrapsychic issue. This difference suggests the radical difference in the Black and White perspectives concerning the locus of the problem, and consequently, of the ways in which it should be approached for analysis and possible resolution.

The position that was most representative of the White group was an individualistic emphasis on improving one's own attitudes, whereas the emphasis of the Black discussion was about how to get Black individuals to work together for group progress. The solutions suggested by the Whites remained on the intrapsychic level in spite of the acknowledgement that changes in personal attitudes would not make much difference as long as institutional inequities existed. A further problem with this intrapsychic perspective, that became obvious during the discussion, was the conflict between the individual's intellectual and emotional reactions, a point that was first expressed in a general way, and that was then empirically supported by the woman who acknowledged that her intellect and emotions were in conflict concerning the issue of "reverse discrimination", as well

as by the position of the woman who said that one should appreciate group differences and then proceeded to say she did not notice them.

The general style of presentation of the issue seemed intellectual, theoretical, and basically uninvolved. It appeared that the problem being discussed concerned other people, not the participants themselves. The issue of prejudice apparently had little to do with the daily realities of the lives of the White participants contrary to experience of the Blacks, who apparently considered it to be part of the normal context of everyday life. The fact that the issue was remote from the Whites perhaps helps to explain the lack of any of the sense of common ground among the Whites that existed in the Black group.

It was interesting to note that the Black group never bothered to discuss the issue of their own prejudices. To the extent that they identified strongly with Gil, it may be supposed that they shared similar feelings, but they apparently did not consider them to be as important an issue as the problem of institutional racism and what Blacks could do together to combat its effects. The Whites were more concerned with the self analysis of their attitudes and feelings. It follows that the respective ideas of what could be done were different. Indeed, whereas one of the issues on which the Blacks focused primarily was concrete action, the Whites had no comparable suggestions for corrective social action from their position in the social structure.

White Group - Afternoon

It was interesting that the discussion of the slide show began with a humorous comment concerning women in ancient Egypt. In contrast, the Black group's reaction was totally serious. The woman who made the humorous comment, who had earlier identified herself as European, went on to say that although a lot of the presentation was probably very valid, it sounded as if the point of the presentation was to show that there had been a European conspiracy to suppress African history. She wondered if this attitude was not a reflection of black paranoia. Although she could understand that some of African history might have been suppressed, she wondered if it had really been done purposefully. One part of her mind said that people could prove anything if they set their minds to it, but another part said that there was a lot of validity to the pictures. But still, she was skeptical about the idea of a conspiracy.

Another woman's reaction was one of frustration that she had not known the truth about African history before and that so few people knew the truth. She felt that the distorting of it had been so well done that maybe it was conscious, although it seemed unconscious. Another woman responded that of course the distortion of history involved a concerted effort to justify White supremacy. When the European woman raised, for the second time, the question of why African and not Asian history had been so distorted, the woman who had made the previous comment said that it would also be suppressed

if deemed necessary in terms of current realities.

The European woman then said that she found inconsistencies in the presentation. She wanted to believe it, but . . . She asked specific questions, such as what color the Egyptians were, which was probably apparent in the slide show. She said she wanted more specifics and that the presentation was too general. Another participant made a general comment about separating fact from fiction and mythology in history. A further comment was made by the woman who had been in the civil rights movement that the reason for suppressing the truth about African history was that knowledge about it would give Black people too much pride and make them want their rights.

Interestingly, the conversation then turned to a general discussion of media portrayals of various realities and a rather idealistic discussion about how nice it would be if the media were more accurate and responsible. Further, idealistic comment was made about groups needing to know each other in order to get along and how nice it would be if they did. This comment elicited the most assent of any -- two yeses.

It was then suggested that the slide show would have elicited more controversy had it been shown in Redding, presumably a racist town. Another woman added that the discussion would be more lively if everyone did not agree. What was striking here was the cognitive dissonance of the observer, since neither the visual cues, nor the degree of participation suggested that everyone in the group agreed. Indeed, of the ten people present, four said absolutely nothing: the

two Asians, the woman who in the morning had said that each individual should begin by appreciating his/her own culture, and the woman who talked of her prejudices concerning "reverse racism".

Additionally -- those who commented did not agree. The positions voiced were agreement with and understanding of both the contents and the implications of the presentation versus various degrees of skepticism concerning the veracity of the facts and of the message. The woman who had suggested that the slide show would have elicited more of a reaction in Redding also apparently failing to notice or acknowledge the lack of agreement in the group, said that the presentation would have elicited more controversy in an interracial group. Interesting here is the apparent assumption that this is a group of liberal Whites that accepts this revolutionary reinterpretation of world history. This assumption, however, conflicts not only with the visual evidence that everyone was not agreeing, but also with the verbal evidence that even those two people who spoke as if the group shared a common perspective, apparently did not even agree with each other. One agreed with the presentation and the other questioned it. The only other position that could have been anticipated in a group that would not have taken the stance of being liberals would have been outright denial of the validity of the facts and implications presented. The skepticism expressed here was much more sophisticated. It was never made clear why more controversy in the discussion would have been desirable and it is interesting that in contrast the black group was very consensus oriented.

The discussion then drifted to the motives for negative feelings concerning other cultures, and to comments concerning extremist racist groups, then into silence. The facilitator got the conversation moving again with a question about how the participants would interpret the impact of the information presented. Everyone who spoke agreed that the reaction would not be positive acceptance. They said that people would not believe the information, say it was the result of paranoia, be surprised, question the sources, and that if the government were to take serious notice of such a presentation, it would be suppressed. One woman suggested that the style of presentation should be more humorous, like an "alternative King Tut", a comment that could easily be interpreted as minimizing and making light of information that both the Black group and the members of the White group who agreed saw as capable of having a very serious and important positive social impact. The comments concerning the lack of positive receptivity were undoubtedly accurate if this "liberal" group was any barometer.

Finally, the issue was raised of what really was the importance of knowing a people's history. It put people into perspective, but if one liked an individual, what difference should knowing the history of the person's social group make. Three people responded to say that a lot of prejudice was related to historical perspectives, and that knowing the history of one's group could be a source of pride, and one woman cited a personal example. She had originally seen Greeks just as people who had restaurants, but when she learned about their culture, she began to look at them differently, a very apt comment

given the purpose of the slide show.

Again, as during the morning, the group members did not interact much with each other. In fact, there was much less interaction due to the absolute non-participation of several individuals. One can only wonder if their silence indicated a total refusal of the information presented, or rather a total lack of concern with information and an issue that they felt had nothing to do with themselves. It is interesting that one of the women who said nothing had in the morning said that it was important to get to know and to learn from different groups and another was the one who admitted to having prejudices she knew were in contradiction with some of her intellectual positions. Even among those people who did express opinions, the conversation drifted away from the topic and broke down, and was only reanimated by the intervention of the facilitator.

Interracial Group - Morning

Two Black participants began the discussions by responding to the same issues that the Black group initially addressed. The woman who began said the first thing that struck her in the film was the behavior of the male in the interracial couple. Her evaluation of him was similar to that of the Black group. It is interesting that no one in the White group mentioned the interracial couple although one woman who had been married to a Black man and another one had dated one. A middle aged Black man in the group then expressed disagreement with Gil, again the only individual mentioned by name, but when the Black woman who had originally spoken about the mixed couple defended Gil's attitude, the man said perhaps he agreed and that his quarrel was more with Gil's style. When the facilitator asked if anyone had any reactions to anyone else in the film, the response as in the Black group, was that maybe they could have reacted had the other people in the film expressed their real feelings more. The general consensus among the Black participants was that racial conditions were not better than when the film was made, and some said that the situation was worsening. One person noted that the Whites in the film said they would like for the situation to improve but the more they talked the more evident it became that they shared the same attitudes as their parents.

One of the White participants disagreed that the racial situation had not improved. He then gave an extended description of his involvement in the civil rights movement and of key experiences he had had that indicated a change in climate for greater equality for Blacks

as well as increased communication between Blacks and Whites. He considered this increased communication in itself evidence of an improvement in the racial situation. The facilitator questioned if he felt things had changed socially, or just for himself. His response -- for himself. He then agreed with the Black male who had previously spoken that since he had changed due to personal experiences, one could not expect Whites who had not had similar experiences to have changed in the same way as himself. While it was not stated, a logical implication of this idea is that although due to personal experiences an individual might improve his/her own interethnic interaction, such individual actions neither promote significant social change nor necessarily make any difference in the lives of the oppressed group.

Again, without denying the importance of even small scale positive intergroup interaction, it appears that this man's position was somewhat like that of the woman who had made an effort to be accepted by Blacks in the Fillmore in the White group. The experience of establishing communication was positive and personally rewarding for them and influenced their behavior positively toward other groups. Such individual action, however, did not necessarily have significant positive effects for the Black community in question.

This issue allows for an interesting reinforcement of a point already made concerning the contents of the discussions of the Black group versus those of the White group. The emphasis of the White male in the interracial group, like that of the participants in the White group, was on their unique individual experiences in intergroup

relations, whereas the Blacks had a more communal perspective in their orientation toward societal change. In this context, that a few individual Whites were now able to communicate with some Blacks appears nice in the sense that it is nice to have allies, but not terribly significant pragmatically. When the Blacks in both groups cited their own experiences the purpose was more to give empirical support for a common societal dynamic with which the other participants could identify than to individualize their experiences. Whereas the Whites cited their experiences to show positive personal change, the Blacks cited theirs to show negative societal dynamics.

A discussion ensued concerning the relationship between social and economic change. It was generally acknowledged that social changes had taken place but that these had not led to significant economic change, nor were they likely to since Whites, to maintain their power, would prevent Blacks from getting ahead in terms of money and power even if the contradictions in their social attitudes that accompanied these power relationships were becoming increasingly evident. It was generally agreed that the probability of dramatic economic change was slight. A Black man added that Blacks who had power were often part of the problem because rather than helping other Blacks get ahead, they hindered them because of their own insecurities.

The White man who had shared his experience then talked of the difference between White immigrant groups and Blacks, and of how the educational system needs to teach about the differences in their historical backgrounds, since if the historical differences are not

understood, the unique condition of Blacks can not be understood, and progress can not be made in resolving the situation. Thus, only thru the teaching of the truth about the history of different peoples could social and economic change come about. When asked by a Black woman if he felt that the lack of knowledge of Black history on the part of Whites was the result of ignorance or denial, his response was ignorance. It is interesting that this man made no comments whatsoever during the afternoon discussion of the slide show, which would have seemed to support his position, except for the fact that the message of the slide show was that the distortion of history was deliberate. Of course, the fact that most whites, like most Blacks, are not aware of this history, is a result of ignorance.

The facilitator then asked the participants if they thought an increased knowledge of Black history could influence race relations. An apparently gay Black male, whose subsequent comments also contrasted with those of the rest of the Black participants in both groups, said that with proper motivation, the knowledge of Black history could have an effect. Blacks would perhaps be motivated to learn it, but Whites had nothing to gain from learning it, and it was important to provide incentives to motivate the White power structure to learn about Black history. It is interesting that this participant was the only Black person in either group to express the desire to create greater acceptance by Whites of Blacks. The other Black participants assumed White racism and the desire of Whites to maintain the unequal status quo as the contextual reality and were concerned with autonomous

pragmatic and unified Black action that did not depend upon White good will but on Black togetherness.

The White male who had not previously commented said that teaching Black history would probably have little impact because people would probably say "so what". The gay Black male asked if knowing Black history would not give White children a different image of Black people, to which the White male responded that perhaps learning Black history would help children but not adults. To this a Black female agreed, saying that White adults deny what they know exists. In fact, if Whites really felt that Blacks were so inferior, they would not make such an effort to suppress them. In this realm it was suggested that Blacks needed to get away from the idea that the world belongs to Whites so that Blacks would feel they have the right to more of the world.

In projecting from the film into a prognosis for the future, at the facilitator's suggestion, several points were made. One point was that drastic changes have only come following racial violence. Another was that Black thought processes had evolved in the past ten years and should continue to do so, and with them, behavior. The value of Blacks getting education for several purposes was stressed -- to move up in the system, to allow Blacks to educate the Black community, and to prepare Blacks to understand the dynamics of the society, realities of Black history and culture, its games and facades and how to deal with them.

It was noticeable that this interracial group did not involve the controversy that had been predicted by members of the White group. On the points of common concern, one White man shared the opinions of the Black group. The other, whose comments were discouraging and defeatist contributed almost nothing to the interaction.

This lack of controversy was probably due to the fact that people who would agree to participate in a workshop on race relations would probably not have radically negative views on the subject. In a sense this interracial group synthesized the major perspectives of the two single ethnic groups. Whereas the Black group focused on group action for major social changes, and the White group discussed individual feelings and behaviors, a central theme of the interracial group was the relationship between personal and societal change, with the White participant raising the issue of personal change and the Blacks more concerned with group action for larger changes.

Interracial Group - Afternoon

The first comment was by the White male who had hardly participated in the morning discussion. He said that he had learned a lot in the slide show, which was well done and presented information people should know. However, he could understand why such information and such a perspective, which would upset some people were not taught. Even if they were he did not think anything would change. Black participants then commented, without apparently acknowledging or responding to the negativity of this comment, expressing the belief that it was important for this truth to be shared for its freeing value and for its positive effect on the Black self-concept. It was important for both Blacks and Whites to be provided with this information, which should be especially valuable for Black children. One woman said she was upset by the lengths to which Whites would go to keep Blacks from knowing the truth, and that it was frightening that Whites had calculated such a distortion against Blacks.

A discussion ensued on aesthetic values and the ways in which Whites emulate Blacks, suggesting that Blacks should realize that by doing so Whites are showing that they do not really believe themselves to be superior. Those Blacks who imitate Whites should understand this. Why should Whites want to both imitate and suppress Black people and culture? Because, as one woman maintained, they do not have a culture of their own. This led to a general discussion of the differences between European and African world views with Black

participants identifying with the African world view described. There was some talk about how and in what contexts to teach Blacks about their history, and one woman said that she was tired of talking to Whites about racial matters and felt that that task should be left to other Whites.

The dynamics of afternoon discussion were quite different from those of the morning. There was no interaction between the Blacks and the Whites since the latter didn't participate after the one initial negative comment. There was never any response to the comment of the White male who spoke first, and the one who had participated so much in the morning said nothing at all and looked very uninvolved. As the Black participants got further into the topic of aesthetics and culture, the interactional style became much like that of the Black group, with "um hum's" of assent, and the style, topic and perspective increasingly defined the Whites as irrelevant to the discussion. Interestingly, there were expressed more differences of opinion among the Black participants than was the case in the all-Black group. Perhaps this was due to the specific composition of the group, or perhaps the fact that the group was not all Black precluded the formation of the sense of community and common understanding manifest by the Black group.

Implications

From the preceding it is evident that the significant social and cultural differences between Black and Whites, many of which were manifest in such a limited interactional environment as a discussion group, make for different assumptions and definitions of reality, and of what constitute important issues and problems and how to approach and attempt to resolve them. The different experiences of the Blacks and Whites led them to see and/or interpret the same situation in different ways to the extent that it could seem that they were describing different phenomena. An example of these different perspectives was the reaction to Gil whom the Blacks found honest, and whom some of the Whites found antagonistic.

Similarly, the aspects that the Blacks and the Whites found of significance in the two presentations, and the nature of their reactions to these stimuli were quite different and often unrelated, to the extent, particularly with the film, that an observer who did not know that there was a common stimulus might almost fail to perceive this fact. For example, whereas the White group focused almost exclusively on their individual experiences and prejudices in reaction to the film, the Blacks did not mention their own prejudices, but focused rather on issues of group, self-identification and concerted action to improve the links of Black people in general.

It seems apparent that such differences in perception and emphasis reflect cultural differences in the Black and White world view when it comes to interethnic relations. The perception of these

differences helps to account for problems of meaningful communication between Blacks and Whites on this issue, for the lack of understanding of each group's perspectives and priorities by the other, and for the difficulties in interracial attempts to work together on racial issues. Whereas, for example, the Whites felt that discussing their individual feelings and theories constituted concrete action in the direction of solving racial problems, it is doubtful that the Blacks would have considered such a discussion at all meaningful since their sense of concrete action involved actual group activities to make socio-economic changes. Consequently, by focusing only on their own intrapsychic issues these Whites, who apparently considered themselves liberals interested in improving interethnic interaction or they probably would not have attended the workshop, could easily be characterized by Blacks as racists interested in maintaining the oppressive status quo. Not only did their talk not focus on their working to make any changes from the privileged position in the social structure from which they actually benefitted from the oppression of Blacks, but in their talk most participants hardly even considered the effect or non-effect on the victims of what they felt constituted action. Consequently, the Blacks, rather than constituting action evidencing good will, the Whites' discussion could easily be viewed rather as egocentric irrelevance.

These observations make evident the fact that the workshops were very well conceived, but also suggests that subsequent to analysis such as this one it would be useful if similar workshops

could be developed that would go on to a further stage. The advantage of these workshops was that of showing how Blacks and Whites react to certain stimuli concerning race relations. The use of mono-ethnic groups allowed these reactions to be as honest as possible, given the contrived situation that workshops represent, without the necessity of being diplomatic because of the presence of the other ethnic group.

The modification in the behavior of the Blacks in the interracial group was a useful indicator of the different behavioral styles that Blacks can manifest in a mixed as compared to an all-Black situation, as well as how they can redefine the situation and their consequent behavior. Unfortunately, it was not possible to compare the behavior of Whites in the two situations with that of the Blacks on this point because of the small number of Whites in the interracial group and their limited participation. Consequently, it was not possible to have a clear indication of the situational nature of the expressions of racist behavior.

Having established the existence of very different world views concerning interethnic interaction on the parts of Blacks and Whites on the basis of analyses of the workshops, and supposing that the participants themselves could be aware of such differences and to create a dialogue to discuss these differences, and those similarities that exist, the reasons for these differences, and how to create a sense of understanding of the perspective of the other to see what kind of positive action might be able to occur as a result of this dialogue.

I assume that the interracial group was intended to show some of these differences, which it did to the extent that it raised the issue of individual and social change versus group and economic change. However, in the absence of a prior understanding of the kinds of dynamics and perspectives manifest by the mono-ethnic groups, such a conscious dialogue as I am proposing could not have occurred.

Actually the ideal situation would have been to have each of the two mono-ethnic groups view the video-tapes of the other group to observe and react to their differences, to then expose them to an external analysis of their compared behavior, to have them discuss both among themselves, and then to have them meet and dialogue to see what new understandings might develop. In the process of dialogue, the contradictions in the philosophies expressed by some would need to be challenged and analyzed so that perhaps the individuals could resolve them in the direction of greater consistency and possible positive action.

It is difficult to specify behavioral criteria evidencing racism for the Black participants since they did not discuss their prejudices. Given the pragmatic situation of American racism - i.e., that only that of members of the dominant culture is structurally relevant in maintaining interethnic inequalities, the racism or lack thereof of Blacks is not at fault in the area of negative human relations. The Blacks tacitly admitted to having prejudices, the assumption seeming to be that the fact that the victims of prejudice should have prejudices against the perpetrators was so obvious as not

to require discussion.

The only explicit expression of what could be termed Black racism occurred when a woman in the interracial group said that Whites had no culture, hence their oppression of and imitation of Blacks. The Blacks acknowledged and understood the mechanisms of White racism, such as deliberate falsification of history and manipulation of images and consequent and consistent miseducation of Whites as well as Blacks, as logical ways to maintain an unequal system that could not be based on honesty.

The slide show seemed to act, for the Black group, as one more element of evidence of the White delegitimation of Black experience of which they were all aware in other aspects of life, and represented an important challenge to the white process of delegitimation. It is interesting that unlike the Whites, most of whom denied actively participating in the delegitimation of the Black experience, yet several of whom challenged this challenge to the time-honored process, the Blacks just assumed the presentation to reveal a truth that had deliberately been hidden. With the exception of the comment that Whites had no culture, and consequently created the myth that Blacks had none, the Blacks were more concerned with how to use this new tool of self-legitimation, than with dwelling on the issue of White delegitimation, except to assume it as a contextual referent. As in their discussion following the film they were less interested in negative White behavior than in positive Black behavior.

The discussion of the slide show provoked many expressions of White racist behavior if racism is defined as legitimizing one's own group by delegitimizing another. This aspect of the process of delegitimation, which was also manifest in other reactions, involved a refusal to accept any challenges to a status quo that they acknowledged as unjust, but from which they benefitted, although they failed to mention this point, and a refusal to accept the validity of Black interpretations of their own perceptions of their reality.

For some Whites the information in the slide show could not possibly be true because it conflicted with what they had learned to assume to be true, with which they were comfortable, and which served their purposes of maintaining their privileged position. Rather than flatly denying its validity, these liberals were more sophisticated. They allowed that some of the facts could be true but questioned others as needing further proof, thus subtly challenging the competence of the presentor; they made light of the presentation as if it were a candidate for the ethnic joking that one White woman seemed to enjoy -- and that the Blacks would undoubtedly have taken as an affront since they were very serious about the topic, they challenged the style of presentation, suggesting that it be less serious, they challenged the basic premise that the distortion of African history was deliberate and conscious by attributing such a perspective to Black paranoia; some did not participate in the discussion at all, thus, perhaps suggesting that they were not at all interested in or concerned by the issue in spite of being part of the group that perpetuated it; they avoided the issue by

generalizing the problem, to Asian history and to the process of sorting out myth and reality in history in general; they displaced the problem away from themselves, suggesting that they all accepted the information presented which was clearly not true and which they perhaps chose to ignore, and so did not really need such a presentation, which would have more impact on hard-core White racists -- who would probably have expressed their non-acceptance with less sophistication, intellectualism and euphemisms.

The Whites were also discouraging about the effects that such a presentation could have on others, while not mentioning that these reactions that they projected onto others -- disbelief, no effect, etc., -- were quite similar to their own, i.e. in the interest of maintaining the status quo. It is interesting that the White group generally agreed that to propagate the information presented in the slide show would have no effect, which was also the conclusion of the White member of the integrated group, although he said he had learned something, without adding that his reaction was possibly the "so what" he projected on others. In contrast, the Black group and the Blacks in the integrated group focused on the concrete ways in which the information could be used, ignoring the discouraging opening statement by the White male.

A clear manifestation of delegitimation evidenced by the reaction of the Whites to the slides was that of screening, of selective attention and learning, by accepting as valid only information and perspectives that correspond to one's own world view. Thus, as far

as the Blacks were concerned, showing what they considered the truth about their own history to Whites would have little effect on the Whites because they would not accept the truth if they knew it did not conform to their vision and interests. Thus, to expose people to alternative truths, or to expose lies, could only have a positive effect on those open minded people disposed to accept challenges to both their belief system and to the status quo.

Given this perspective, the position held by most of the White participants, and hardly any of the Blacks, that education and increased knowledge about the history and culture of different ethnic groups and greater intergroup contacts does not seem to be a real panacea since those people inclined to view other groups negatively will selectively screen the information and experiences to which they are subject on the basis of these preconceptions. As all agreed, the process would probably only work with children who would not already have well-formed prejudices.

The Black man said that if Whites knew the truth about Black history perhaps they would look at Blacks differently. The experience cited by the woman in the White group concerning her change in attitude toward Greeks when she learned about their history supports this data. One may wonder, therefore, what this optimistic Black man's reaction would have been to the negative and discouraging comments made by most of the Whites in response to the reinterpretation of Black history. It would also be interesting to see what the White reaction would be to the positive Black reaction to the slide show. Given the

nature of the Whites' general responses to the presentation, one may wonder if their reaction in an interracial discussion would involve the degree of delegitimation of the Black perspectives and attitudes expressed in the mono-ethnic discussion.

Other examples of White delegitimation of Black interpretations of their own experience occurred in respect to Gil, and in the comment concerning the Amos and Andy show. Gil's behavior was positively identified with, approved and characterized as honest by the Blacks but some of the Whites characterized him as antagonistic, thus seemingly challenging the acceptability of the content and style of his expression of his own experience, which clearly also corresponded to the reality known by the Black participants. Additionally, the Amos and Andy show was characterized as "supposed to be demeaning" as if Whites would perhaps be better judges than Blacks of what should and should not be perceived as demeaning by Blacks.

The inconsistencies acknowledged and not acknowledged by the Whites between their intellectual opinions and their emotional feelings and objective behavior very obviously masked racist perspectives behind liberal theory. Examples are the denying of the legitimacy of the culture of another by saying one is oblivious to these differences in spite of the intellectual stance of recognition of the validity of the culture of others. In this vein, to assume one knows another culture on the basis of stereotypes is clearly racist, in that it selects certain often unrepresentative qualities for generalization and ignores intra-group differences. Although participants in the

workshop were seemingly too sophisticated to use the standard stereotypes about Blacks, to select an exotic and unrepresentative segment of Black society on which to focus, thus amplifying one's sense of cultural difference could be interpreted as racism, as in the case of citing being accepted by pimps and prostitutes in the Fillmore as tantamount to being accepted by "the Black community", which the Black group defined totally differently and more realistically.

The dynamics of the morning and afternoon sessions of the White group were interestingly revelatory concerning the way and degree to which they apparently felt that the issue of intergroup relations touched their own lives, since the two stimuli present the problem in significantly different ways. Since the film was on individual prejudice, almost each individual commented to give his/her personal theory and usually to assert his/her innocence. The participants acknowledged the problem of racism as a characteristic mostly of other people. With one exception, they talked of the manifest intellectual theory of their supposedly non-racist attitudes without probing the deep structure of the contradictions in their behavior. Concentrating on the intrapsychic level, they did not deal with the issue of institutionalized racism that implicated them all, as if it were a separate issue.

It is thus not clear that either group learned much they had not already known about this issue of individual prejudice. What did become clear to the observer was the different points of view from which Blacks and Whites approach the question. Since they did

not go beyond the intellectual level of this manifest structure, the film did not appear to have much of an impact on the thought processes of the participants. The effect could have been more meaningful as a race relations training intervention had there been a challenging of the theory espoused by the Whites, to check the consistency of their application, and ideally the kind of dialogue between Blacks and Whites proposed in this section. Actually, the videotapes could serve as a very good training device for understanding differences in the dynamics of Black and White social interaction and attitudes, interpretations and priorities concerning racial issues.

The reactions of the White afternoon group to the slide show were strikingly different from those in reaction to the film on prejudice. They were apparently all quite familiar with the issue of racial prejudice and could take intellectual stands about the extent to which the question related to themselves. The European woman, for example, said she did not feel at all implicated by the issue of American racial prejudice since she had not grown up in the society and hence had no particular prejudices.

The slide show, however, had a more dramatic impact and elicited stronger reactions, or total non-reactions in the case of those who failed to participate, because it discussed a form of systematized racism that inevitably touched everyone. It is interesting that the European woman who identified herself as non-American and hence as not implicated in U. S. racial questions, was the first to express her skepticism concerning the slide show, and made the most frequent challenging comments since the slide show implicated her as a White

person in opposition to Black people, thus as involved in and benefitting from the Euro-American distortion of African history and consequently the history of Blacks in the world. The Whites were apparently quite shocked by the slide show which presented a challenge to their assumptions concerning historical reality and put into question the validity of the foundation of the current social structure. Thus, some participants apparently felt more personally accused than they had by the film -- hence the non-participation and the extremely defensive and discouraging reactions. Clearly the revelations of the slide show had a different impact and different implications for the Blacks and the Whites. For the Blacks it revealed the enormity of the racism which they already assumed. It gave them reinforcement for positive action to improve the lot of Black people. For the Whites it put them face to face with a form of institutional racism that clearly implicated them passively or actively, and from which they could not distance themselves as they could from the issue of individual prejudice.

The film on prejudice or some similar stimulus could possibly be used as an effective race relations training device in reducing White prejudice if it were used to go beyond their rather egotistic and ethnocentric concern for the effects of their own prejudices on themselves or their intellectual and emotional consistency and their self-concept as liberals. It is striking that in their discussion they never mentioned the effects of their prejudice on the victims. On the contrary, racial prejudice was discussed as a White intellectual

intrapsychic issue, rather than as part of a system of oppression from which Black people and other minorities suffer on a tangible and constant basis. The Whites need to acknowledge this fact and to acknowledge that the nature of their discussio f prejudice is a highly racist act, in that it ignores the victims of their actions.

It should be instructive for the Whites to have a sense of the Black reaction to the stimulus of the film on prejudice, to see that the concerns and priorities of the Blacks are entirely different from their own. (The Blacks would probably not find the style of White discussion terribly revelatory). The first step in reducing the level of racism of the Whites would be for them to acknowledge their role in the racist process and to go beyond their intrapsychic preoccupations to consider the concrete social concerns with prejudice voiced by the Blacks. They would have to understand the nature of the difference in Black and White priorities and to cease delegitimating the former by failing to acknowledge and support them. Only thus can they work toward the reduction of racism and toward more positive interethnic interaction.

The slide show could also be used as a very positive race relations training instrument, again going farther than its use here. For Blacks the material in the slide show, representing an affirmation and an act of legitimation of Black culture, can help to provide a more positive individual and collective self-image that can serve as a basis for collective action. It can also help to make Blacks more vividly aware of the myriad techniques and arms that a racist society

uses against them, and inspire them to work to better ferret out and understand the meanings and implications of the various forms of racism in order to work to combat them.

For the Whites the slide presentation could also be used as an effective instrument to use to decrease their degree of racism. They would have to begin by analyzing the reasons for their defensiveness and skepticism in reaction to this reinterpretation of Black history and by acknowledging the ethnocentric nature of most historical documentation. They would have to acknowledge both the content of and the reasons for the distortion of African and Afro-American history, which have been well documented by competent scholars, as a racist technique for legitimating White culture by delegitimating Black culture. And they would have to accept the responsibility for working to propagate a correct interpretation of history, particularly among Whites, and for helping to work toward the kinds of improvements in interethnic interaction that such historical honesty could promote.